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Shamgar findings pin blame on GSS, Gillon

THE Shamgar Commission of Inquiry into the Assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday charged that for years the General Security Service has failed to protect the nation's leaders properly.

In a hard-hitting report, the commission enumerated the security establishment's failures surrounding the assassination, with the GSS and its former chief, Karmi Gillon, receiving the toughest criticism.

The police were also not spared. The 332-page report detailed ineptness by police commanders responsible for Rabin's safety, who gave orders to clear the parking lot where he was murdered, but failed to make sure they were implemented.

A classified section touched on the relations between the Prime Minister's Office, the government authority in charge of the GSS, and the security service.

in this report, reflect conceptual and operational flaws in a wide range of areas, and weakness in the management of the national authorities," former Supreme Court president Meir Shamgar, who headed the commission, and members Zvi Zamir and Ariel Rozen-Zvi, wrote in the conclusion.

"In this respect, the report serves as a warning sign for many different institutions."

The report was made public in the early afternoon, after it had been presented to Prime Minister Shimon Peres and to the six GSS men and one police officer issued warning letters. They were allowed to review the classified sections inside Jerusalem's Beit Shalom, the building where the commission held its hearings.

"I think they put their finger on the main points," Peres said after receiving the report.
"They didn't waste their time on marginal issues. When a tragedy like this occurs, it is impossible not to learn a lesson. The situation cannot remain what it was.

'The fact that a prime minister was murdered Our findings and conclusions, which appear under certain conditions, in a certain situation, necessitates that lessons be learned. I think that the Shamgar Commission's report provides the government with a direction and with recommendations on how to learn the necessary lessons.'

Peres declined to relate to the classified section, except to say: "I think the classified section I read today was also very trustworthy and reasonable. It was to the point, just like the rest of the report."

The commission ended its report with a quote from the Talmud (Berahot): "Rabbi Yohanan said in the name of Rabbi Shimon Bar-Yohai: Bad culture in a man's home is worse than Armageddon," after calling for continued soul-

But the philosophical tone of the conclusion was not characteristic of the report as a whole, which delved deep into the details of the security failures surrounding the November 4 assassina-

It gives a behind-the-scenes look at those

failures, from the lack of coordination between the police and GSS, and poor preparations by both, to a misreading of intelligence information on a Jewish assailant trying to kill the prime

The report emphasizes that "specific failures" at the assassination site were symptomatic of

wider problems plaguing the GSS and police.
It said the GSS bodyguards' failure to protect
Rabin's back from the one angle from which
Amir was able to approach and fire "gives the
impression that the failure was specific and by chance. But to our sorrow, this is not the case.

The commission found the police and GSS did not study each other's security plans for the night of the event. The police presented their plan to the GSS, but the GSS officers responsible did not review it. The police never received the GSS security plan.
"The lack of knowledge of one body of the

orders of the other ... played more than a small part in the failures that lead to the led to the

tragedy," the report said.

The reports details how police commanders

called for extra manpower to help clear the Tel Aviv City Hall parking lot near where Rabin was later murdered, but the extra forces were late and, when they finally arrived, failed to do what

they were ordered.
Policemen and GSS bodyguards were also not properly briefed about the real threat of attack on the prime minister by a lone Jewish assailant, despite intelligence reports their commanders had received about such a threat.

Instead, as Yigal Amir waited to carry his attack in full view near Rabin's route to his car, the GSS and police were more concerned about the threat of attack by Hamas and Islamic Jihad their commanders had briefed them on.

Building on the specific failures, the commission went on to sharply criticize, even ridicule, both agencies - but the GSS in particular - for their handling of VIP security in general over the past several years.

"The prime minister was not protected as he should have been the night he was murdered, and that failure was the result of a method of (Continued on Page 15)

Commission clears GSS commander, rules 5 others and police officer negligent on night of Rabin murder

ONE of the seven General Security Service and police officers issued warning letters in December by the Shamgar Commission, K., the head of the Non-Arab Affairs Division, was cleared in the final report released yesterday.

The commission found "there were indeed some systematic flaws in the relay of information on a potential attack on the premier by a Jewish extremist] from the GSS to the police.

"However, these flaws are systematic and not personal and therefore the commission found no cause to draw personal con-clusions against K.," who was responsible for intelligence information on extremist Jewish groups and individuals.

The commission took the oth-

BILL HUTMAN

er officers to task for security failures on the night of prime minister's Yîtzhak Rabin's assassination. The personal conclusions in the report, as defined in an official summary of the report, were as follows:

Regarding former GSS chief Karmi Gillon, "The commission found that starting in 1993 there were increasing reports on plans to assassinate the prime minister

... However, [Gillon] did not draw the operational conclusions necessitated by this.

"Gillon did not conduct even one substantive, relevant, thorough, and comprehensive discussion with all the security and intelligence-gathering bodies to review methods," in light of intelligence information on threats of attack by Jewish extremist.

"Gillon should have seen to planning operational and conceptual readiness that would create an appropriate level of preparedness in the VIP Protection Unit," in an effort to foil such an attempted attack.

Despite these serious findings, the commission ruled that no action should be taken against Gillon, as he has already resigned from his post because of the assassination.

Y., head of the GSS Security Division, was also charged with not taking the proper steps in response to the threat of attack on the prime minister by a Jew-

(Continued on Page 15)



Members of the security forces lead suspects captured in yesterday's raids to a collection point at the Bir Zeit soccer ground. Hundreds of Palestinians held in huge sweep

371 Palestinians in villages north of Ramallah yesterday, hauling them blindfolded onto a football field

for questioning about suspected links with Islamic militants. The pre-dawn sweep was the largest since the IDF split its control over most Arab villages in Judea and Samaria with the Palestinian Police. The army said it was aimed at netting suspected terrorists and students from the Gaza Strip, whose presence in the West Bank was declared illegal following the recent suicide

bombings. The arrests nearly doubled the number of Palestinians Israeli forces have taken in since the beginning of the month.

The raids were the last action under the command of of Maj.-Gen. Ilan Biran, who is ending his two-year stint as OC Central Command and retiring from military service.

The war against terror is not measured in quantity, but the quality of intelligence and getting the perpetrator, capturing him, and interrogating him," Biran

told reporters. Under cover of darkness, security forces, including paratroopers, undercover units, and policemen, swept through the town of Bir Zeit and the villages of Abu Kash and Shakheida, banging on doors and hauling suspects out-side. They were taken to large compounds erected on the foot-

ball field in Bir Zeit. Lt.-Col. Yitzhak, head of the Central Command military police, told Army Radio there is

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ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

"no doubt the scope of today's raids is not the norm these days,"

he said. The main goal of the operation was to round up Gazans studying in colleges in the Ramaliah area in defiance of Biran's order to return home. Biran targeted the

Gazans, since most of the Hamas activists linked to the bombers were students from Gaza, many of whom attend Bir Zeit University.

The university has been a font of Hamas activism and Yihye Ayyash, "the Engineer," recruit-

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ed many followers when he was a

student there. 'The connection between Gaza and Judea and Samaria is one of terror and incitement," said Deputy Defense Minister

Ori Orr. "They presumed they lived in a secure area and that no one would enter it," Orr said, accusing them of "taking advantage of the academic freedom." "Anyone from Gaza will be returned to Gaza, and anyone who is innocent will be released," Orr said. (Continued on Page 15)

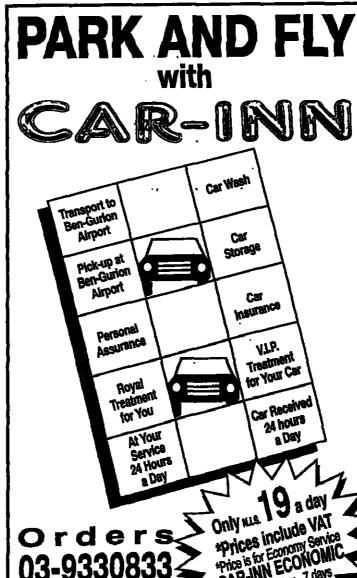
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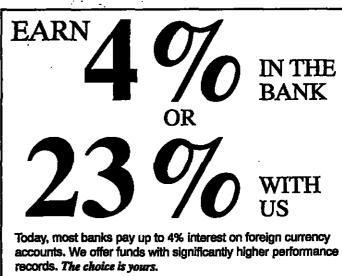
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Commission rejects 'conspiracy theories'

THE Shamgar Commission Report categorically rejected the "conspiracy theories" surrounding the assassination of prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, saying it looked into many of them and found them baseless.

The report's discussion of General Security Service informer Avishai Raviv, a central figure in many of those theories, is classified, which is likely to keep many theorists guessing.

The published report only dealt indirectly and briefly with the use of informers by the GSS, in the final section outlining recommendations for improving the operations of the service. The recommendations appeared to reflect directly on the Raviv case.

informer must keep tight control of him, not to allow him to initiate actions at his will ... and to prevent the carrying out of provocations, that in the end may have a boomerang effect," the report stated.

Many of the theories alleged that Raviv, who headed the Kach splinter group Eyal, goaded Amir into assassinating Rabin. Amir himself has denied this, and the GSS has downplayed Raviv's importance as an informer.

'After the murder rumors spread in the public that connected the planning of the murder ... to governmental bodies, including the General Security Service, or groups within it," the report "The body that operates an stated, noting that many citizens

sent the commission letters claiming Amir had not acted alone.

"The commission checked the allegations that there was a conspiracy, and witnesses were invited to testify in connection with those allegations ... But from the testimony brought before the commission, no basis was found for the allegations there was a

The report also looked into the issue of a reserve soldier, Shlomi Levy, who allegedly overheard a person who fit Amir's description speak of plans to murder Rabin, and informed police. The commission found there is no way of knowing whether proper followup of Levy's lead by police and the GSS would have prevented

hearing in the Northern District Military Court. Schwartz confessed as part of a plea-bargain agreement. He said he agreed to the Amir brothers'

Orr: GSS is properly supervised

NEWS

ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

ENVIRONMENT Minister

Yossi Sarid, a member of the

ministerial committee for secret

services, yesterday called the

Shamgar Report on Yitzhak Ra-

bin's assassination "deep, re-

"It sheds light on on the tragic

assassination. I'm convinced that

by fully adopting the recommen-

dations of the report the General

Security Service will be able to

prevent future political assassina-tions in Israel," he said, adding

that he has complete faith in the

dismiss the possibility that "an-

other Yigal Amir is waiting some-

where. but dismissed former

GSS head Karmi Gillon's claim

that there are many potential as-

sassins. He praised Gillon for ac-

cepting responsibility and resign-

ing before the commission called

Justice Minister David Lība'i,

who is also a member of the-se-

cret services committee, said,

for his resignation.

Sarid also said he could not

sponsible, and balanced."

DEPUTY Defense Minister Ori Orr does not believe the government's supervision of the General Security Service needs to be revised, despite the highly critical Shamgar Commission report.

Orr said the current supervision of the GSS by the prime minister, as well as the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, is adequate and that no one could have foreseen that a Jew would have murdered the prime minister. "We supervise the GSS very

well." Orr said. "The protection of the prime minister failed. Today, everyone is wiser in retrospect, but it is not a problem of supervision. We don't need to make changes. Orr added that the only modifi-

cation that needs to he made is "how the enemy looks. Everyone LIAT COLLINS

mined that the failing was not limited to the event itself, but stemmed from the fact that its approach towards protecting the premier was untenable."

Liba'i said the commission had not made any ruling on whether Gillon could serve in a similar position in the future and noted the responsibility is not personal, but rests upon the whole system Meretz MK Ran Cohen, who

chairs the Knesset subcommittee which oversees secret security forces, said the subcommittee will be convened next week to review the report. Cohen called the report "seri-

ous and important" and said he sees no reason for criticizing it at this point. Asked about the expressions of

relief and joy among the police top brass, Cohen said, "Nobody came out of this tragic event unscathed. There were failings by the GSS, and it accepted responsibility, but the police don't come out of it entirely clean."

Sarid applauds findings of Shamgar Report Cohen said the failings could be found not only with the GSS, but "with Israeli society and particularly the extreme right wing. All blame for the terrible deed lies with the perpetrators, but the security failing lies with the

GSS." Nonetheless, Cohen also praised the GSS. The lives of each and everyone of us, every day and every hour, are in their hands and they do their work

faithfully," he said. Winning numbers and cards In last night's Payis Harak. drawing, the holder of ticker

The holder of ticket number 482283 won a car.

Tickets numbered 565542, 203898, 611303, 043070, 634046, 173634, 350333 and 827710 won NIS 5,000. Those tickets ending in 69053, 21573, 38153, 58103, 49693, 23334, 28929, 39934, 26806, 07053, 71860, 11517, 00007, 12778, 23650 98078, 20260, 65276 and 21235 won. NIS 1,000. Tickets ending in 172, 117, 516, 863, and 497 won; NIS 100, Tickets ending in 88, 14, 53, 41 and 08 won NIS 24... Tickets ending in 4 and 5 won

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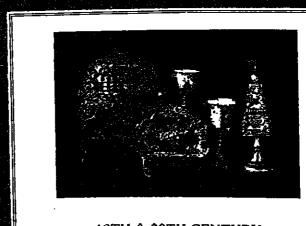
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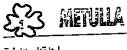
Soldier: Amir kept asking for explosives Yitzhak Rabin, was appearing for his sentencing "YIGAI Amir's repeated requests to put together some explosives for his brother Haggai to try out made me stop and think," St.-Sgt. Arye Schwartz told his court martial yesterday.

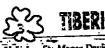
Schwartz, convicted last month of stealing weap-

"The GSS failed in its task of is acting smart now, but nobody ensuring the safety of the prime thought then that a Jew would kill request to supply "amateur sapper" Haggai Amir with explosives with which to "experiment." (Itim) minister. The commission deterthe prime minister."

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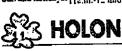
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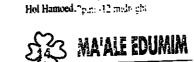
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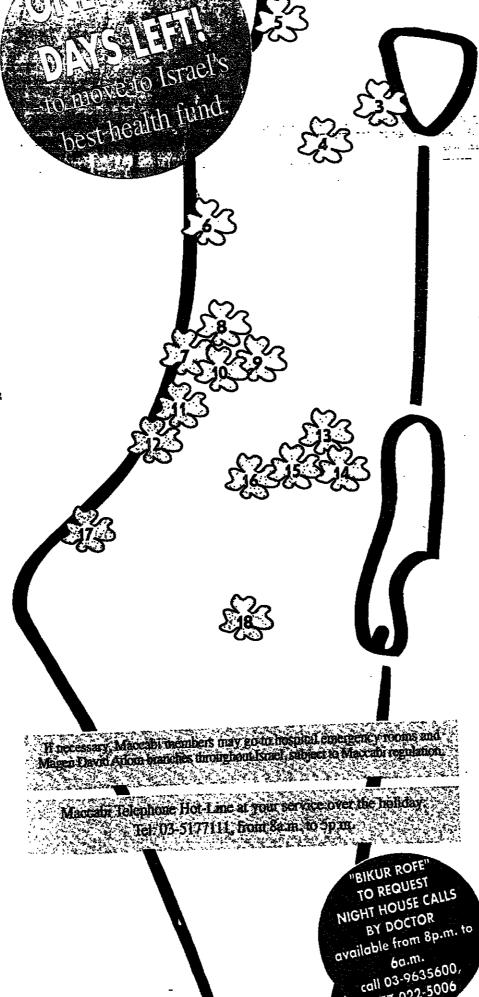
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Sheves takes over as director of Labor information campaign

MICHAL YUDELMAN

SHIMON SHEVES, a former close aide to prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, yesterday took over as director of Labor's election information campaign, which kicks off officially on Sunday.

The appointment, initiated by information campaign chairman Haim Ramon, was approved by Prime Minister Shimon Peres.

Campaign activity will increase today, with demonstrations of Labor youth in support of Peres at some 70 road junctions throughout the country, and with a rally of People for Peres in Tel Aviv.

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AL MILLER

Labor's main campaign slogan, "A strong Israel with Peres," is expected to appear in newspaper ads next week, but the real campaign activities are due to begin only after Pessah, party secretary-general Nissim Zvilli said, noting that "people don't like aggressive campaign activity on holidays."

Zvilli said he will try to persuade Labor and Social Affairs Minister Ora Namir, who resigned from her campaign post as head of the pensioners' sector, to change her mind. Namir, who quit following her election to the relatively low 13th place in Labor's primaries, is on a two-week vacation.

Industry and Trade Minister Micha Harish, who was named director of election day operations, is also having doubts whether to continue his campaign activity after his failure to gain a realistic slot on the Knesset list.

Harish is to meet Peres and campaign chairman Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, who will try to per-suade him to stay in the cam-

Party leaders are also considering ways of compensating Deputy Foreign Minister Eli Dayan for being pushed off the Knesset list, by offering to back him for secretary-general or giving him a diplomatic posting after the elections.

Gillon: I am not upset with the commission

Former GSS head Karmi Gillon gave the following response to the Shamgar findings:

"AT the time, I was one of a small number of people who initiated the establishment of a judicial commission of inquiry. I viewed the very act of its establishment as having great importance for the public after the heavy mourning that descended upon the nation. "We in the General Security

Service took immediate action. We came to conclusions and learned organizational, professional, and personal lessons on the basis of the internal committee of inquiry that we established on November 5, and whose conclusions were presented to the prime minister and brought to the public within a few days of the assassi-

The head of the Protection Department and I submitted our resignations three days after the murder and before the commission of inquiry was established, in accordance with the personal and organizational standards we learned at home and in the service, and our understanding of the concept of accountability.

"My resignation was not accepted then because of the national need - in [Prime Minister Shimon] Peres's words, to restore the GSS to its full might. I am gratified that the commission dismissed out of hand the idea of a conspiracy in the GSS, gratified that the intelligence sector, for which I am also responsible, was found in order, and gratified that I have already implemented many of the commission's conclusions regarding the protection of VIPs...

'My subordinates, who stood at my side before the commission, are among the best of those who spent their days and nights in the line of duty with limitless devotion. In my opinion, the commission is too hard on them, and I disagree with some of the conclusions it reached.

"However, I am not upset with the commission. I am upset over



Former General Security Service head Karmi Gillon speaks to the press after the Shamgar Commission released its report yes-

the murder of Yitzhak Rabin - a leader, a commander, and a humane man who gave me his full confidence. The sense of his loss is with me at all times, day and night, and that is what brought me to the decision to resign immediately after his murder. The only thing that consoles me is the knowledge that I have left behind a security service able to fulfill the heavy security missions imposed upon it by the state ... and that I have handed over the command in an orderly and dignified way to as outstanding a commander and

fighter as Ami Ayalon... There are other Jews like Yigal Amir - albeit not many - serving with us in the Golani Brigade or the Paratroopers or the Armored Corps, studying with us at university, standing beside us in line at the movies, and shopping with us in the same supermarket, who are ready to kill a prime minister and political leaders in Israel. And I say this not as an angry prophet but as a rational person who has seen these things in the past and sees things the way they are in the

"These same intelligence and protection people who are being judged today, whom we all want to scrupulously obey the law and democratic behavior in our country, are the same ones who are responsible for the fact that the prime minister is not assassinated and that buses don't blow up in our cities. Be careful with their honor and look after them, for there are none better than they who are willing to assume this heavy responsibility." (Itim)

Amir to be kept in Beersheba Prison

be transferred from Hasharon Prison to his former cell at Beersheba Prison.

He was transferred to Hasharon during his trial to enable easy access for court-appointed psychiatrists to examine him. Hasharon is also much nearer to Tel Aviv, where the trial was

CONVICTED assassin Yigal Amir will soon held, and facilitated his heavily guarded transportation to and from court.

Amir will be held in solitary confinement in a cell equipped with closed-circuit TV cameras, which will follow his every move. He will be given the minimum facilities required by Raine Marcus

Shamgar Commission absolves police

THE Shamgar Commission findings prove the police were not responsible for any security foulup and that they fulfilled their duties, said senior officers yester-

The commission recommended that Hayarkon police chief Dep.-Cmdr. Ya'acov Shoval be officially reprimanded by Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz and the reprimand listed in his personal file.

The Kikar Malchei Yisrael area, where Rabin was murdered, was under Shoval's direct jurisdiction and he was the only police officer sent a letter of warning by the

Following yesterday's recom-mendation, Shoval's mobile phone did not stop ringing, as colleagues nationwide phoned to express solidarity after months of

"It's impossible to say that I'm completely happy, considering the tragic event that occurred that night," said Shoval. "I was only half a meter away at the time [of the assassination]. I had hoped to be vindicated completely in light

of what I know to be true, and my actions."

But he added he felt relief, after a difficult few months. "At times I felt I was representing the police force as a whole body," he said. Shoval also said that officers

from the Hayarkon sub-district. and the Tel Aviv force supported him fully, especially when he was absent for around two months when testifying before the com-

His lawyer, Amnon Zichroni, accused "certain parties of opening fire at the police to absolve themselves of responsibility. I am happy with the findings, which just prove that the police fulfilled their duties and were not told to evacuate the area around the parking lot, nor to 'sterilize' the area,"

The police points of view were accepted by the commission. In such events the police are only an assisting force, and the main responsibility is on the GSS." Another police officer said that the term "sterile area" was invented by the GSS after the assassination. Shoval's reprimand, he added, would not hamper his

chances of promotion. Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz said the police would adopt the commission's findings and recommendations. "I have appointed a professional team to examine the findings and which will recommend to me, within the next few days, ways to implement them," said Hefetz. "The commission treated the police fairly. Although it did not totally exonerate us of all responsibility, it gave the correct weight to the role and responsibility of the police. We must not forget this tragic event to implement lessons learned, some of which we are putting into effect now, together with the GSS."

Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal said that he knows Shoval to be a talented and experienced officer and "personally felt his pain." "We must examine the report thoroughly, including the classified parts, before drawing any final conclusions," he said.

Norway may grant PA emergency funds in response to closure

NORWAY intends to provide "tens of millions" of dollars in emergency assistance to the Palestinians to alleviate economic losses incurred from the closure of the territories, a Clinton administration official said yesterday.

The Norwegians "have been particularly active in recent weeks" in examining ways to provide assistance, the official said. The aid would represent "unilateral Norwegian efforts" to address the problem, rather than an additional international apparatus to aid the Palestinians, he added.

The US does not intend to add to its 1993 five-year, \$500 million pledge to the Palestinians, he said. Oslo's move is meant only as a short-term fix for closure-related losses, because "what the

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HILLEL KUTTLER WASHINGTON

Norwegians don't want is to have current developmental funds tapped once more," he said. Palestinian Authority Chairman

Yasser Arafat reportedly stated earlier this week that a \$1 billion infusion would be necessary, but the US official dismissed that figure as unrealistic. Meanwhile, security experts and

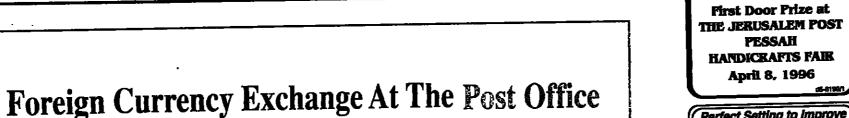
ambassadors from 28 countries were to convene at the State Department last night for the start of a two-day session on counterterrorism that is a follow-up to the March 13 Sharm e-Sheikh confer-

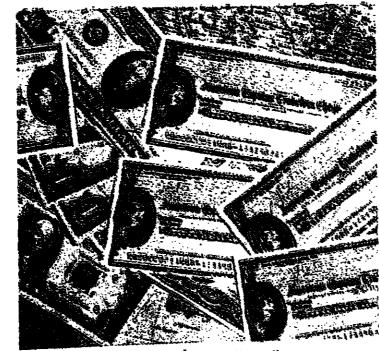
Regional participants include Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, the PA, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, and

Israel's delegation is headed by Foreign Ministry Deputy Director-General Yigal Pressler.

Although a general statement may be issued after the working groups' meeting today, no formal communique will be issued, Israeli and US officials said.

"We are not hyping this meeting as producing a declaration, a statement," the US official said. "Rather, it's to produce ... specific kernels of concrete counter-terrorism areas ... which would be referred to capitals and then to the ministerial meeting. [to be] held, probably, next month.





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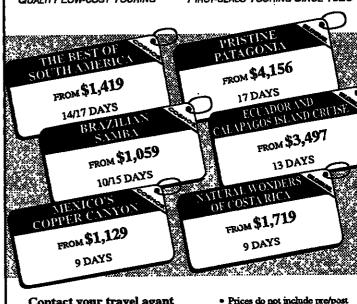
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The Shamgar Report

HE Shamgar Commission's decision not to recommend criminal prosecution of security officials in the Rabin assassination case is probably justified. After a painstaking investigation, it could not point to anyone who might be guilty of criminal negligence. The fault, it found, was in the general attitude of those responsible for security. They possessed enough information to warrant taking greater precautions, but did virtually nothing.

Perhaps the most illuminating statement in the report is the commission's rejection of the General Security Service's claim that it was impossible to give political figures better protection, because they like to mingle. "It was not the politicians' need to have direct contact with the public that rendered an improved system [of protection] impossible, but the routinized thinking habits [at the GSS]," the commission as-

That is why the commission felt the forced resignation of GSS head Karmi Gillon, who was not even in the country at the time of the assassination, was justified. True, the tragedy could have been avoided with a little luck. As one observer put it soon after the assassination, had one of Rabin's bodyguards turned to the left rather than the right a second before murderer Yigal Amir raised his gun, the only casualty would have probably been Amir. But the shockingly negligent, sloppy procedures that made the murder possible were a result of an insouciance which only instruction and inspiration from the top could have altered. That these were absent must be blamed on the chief himself.

It may be understandable, too, that the commission's findings on the involvement of agent provocateur Avishai Raviv with the murderer were confined to the secret part of the report. The commission obviously did not wish to compromise GSS undercover techniques. But while it dismissed out of hand all speculations of a conspiracy involving the GSS, it did refer to "the activation of agents and the need to keep tight control over problematic agents and prevent the commission of crimes or provocations

by them. What the investigation seemed unable to do at least in the published part of the report - was to determine who called out "blanks, blanks" during the shooting. The identity of the caller is still an intriguing mystery. Nor has it been able to reveal why Leah Rabin was told by a GSS agent immediately after the shooting that there was nothing to worry about, because the shooting she had heard was of harmless blank bullets.

Inexorably, the report's release opened old wounds. Some of the rhetoric immediately following the assassination, which blamed "rightwing extremists" for the killing and concomitantly defined all opponents of Rabin's policies as "extremists," came to life again yesterday. It must be hoped that Prime Minister Shimon Peres, who wisely and responsibly exerted a healing influence after the assassination, will nip this rhetoric in the bud. If there are numerous potential political assassins in the population, as Gillon warned vesterday, the government must do everything it can to keep internal tensions under control.

Mad cows and Euro-men

THE past week has seen an outbreak of hysteria across the entire European Union that is scarcely credible and that once again raises disturbing questions about the quality of information provided to national leaders and the public by the modern entertainmentdriven media.

The issue of BSE in cattle - mad cow disease " is undoubtedly one that requires, and is getting, the best attention of serious scientific brains. But the leap in a matter of days from a scientific conclusion that BSE may have been transmitted to 10 humans, to a worldwide ban on British beef and calls for the destruction of the country's cattle herds, defies logic.

While the management of the developing crisis by Prime Minister John Major's government has not been the most competent, the panic-stricken reaction of the European bureaucrats has been mind-boggling, with more than a hint of cheap politics driving out reason. Major's government is to be commended for standing firm so far against an even greater media hysteria that called for the immediate slaughter of all 11 million cattle - an act that would have plunged the country into economic disaster.

EU Farm Commissioner Franz Fischler admitted to the European Parliament that there is no proof of a direct link between BSE and the similarly rare Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease (CJD) in humans. But his statement that the EU was forced to act "by the fact that there is no proof that there is no link" marks a new low in the already ridiculed world of "Euro-speak."

There is no proof that there is no link between many things in the created biological world, but such a piece of bureaucratic nonsense must be one of the flimsiest reasons ever given for a step of such enormous potential consequences to the livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of Britons. One might ask why the European Commission does not ban cars immediately because of their link to road accidents or sex because of AIDS. Less flippantly, one might ask why it has not banned tobacco, given the truly enormous body of evidence linking it to hundreds of thousands of deaths across the continent.

The Euro-politicians have been quick to cite "the need to restore public confidence" as the excuse for their hasty actions, with scarcely a glance at their own role in destroying public confidence in the first place. The use of powerful worldwide sanctions against a nation and industry on the basis of one piece of inconclusive scientific evidence is a startling new development. Every day, the world's media pick up snippets of scientific research which suggest links between some substance and cancer or heart disease or the extinction of the dinosaurs. This is the first time that such a report has driven the political herd into a panic-stricken

Of course public health is a major concern of any government. But, by contrast with the blind panic of the Eurocrats, the British national farmers union made an eminently sensible suggestion - that older cattle which may have been exposed to BSE-contaminated fodder should be removed from the food chain. Those thousands of older beasts routinely slaughtered every week would simply not be passed on to the food-processing industry.

As scientific research progressed and came up with clearer answers, further measures would be implemented to keep in step - as is done in all other cases of suspect contamination. So far, the number of cases of CJD in Britain has been so tiny as to be statistically insignificant in scientific terms. More reasonable American experts report that prominent investigators in the field not only recognize a genetic factor in up to 15 percent of cases of CID, but they even believe it occurs spontaneously.

However, the damage is probably done to Britain's meat industry and the day will surely come when the European knee-jerkers will have to admit their responsibility for it and the ensuing cost. They might also like to explain how the European Union consistently manages to do so little good when much is required (as in Bosnia), and so much damage when a little common sense is called for. As one British politician remarked - it's not the cows that are

POSTSCRIPT |

Sir, - Rabbi Howard Kandell's letter of February 29 explained a socalled issur (prohibition) proclaimed by Orthodox rabbis in New York against participating in public appearances of Minister without Portfolio Rabbi Yehuda Amital.

The rabbi claimed that this issur was not meant personally against Rabbi Amital, but rather in response to his being a "court rabbi," implying that he is "allowing himself to be used by Shimon Peres in his plan to dismember the State of Israel..."

In the first place, nobody pays attention to such issuring. There is no one in America with the right to place a ban on the individual behavior of Jews. Perhaps a chief rabbi would have that authority, but we do not have a chief rabbi in America, and any chief bbi who promulgated issurim wou. I quickly lose credibility in a country where freedom of thought and action are taken

Secondly, Rabbi Amital is not being "used" by anybody. He was invited by Prime Minister Peres to fulfill a role described by Mr. Peres

RABBI AMITAL'S ROLE

as follows: "To bring Judaism to the government and convey the legitimacy of the government to the

Rabbi Amital is serving as a personal bridge between government and religion. His presence in the cabinet no doubt affects the tone and content of speech at cabinet meetings. He has appeared publicly with Shulamit Aloni, who we are sure has developed a new respect for Torah and Judaism because of her exposure to a loving, saintly, tolerant and passionately Zionist religious leader. At the same time, he is conveying to the religious community the

Israel, but rather a freely elected government that is trying to ensure the survival of the Jewish people in One does not have to agree with

the policies of Prime Minister Peres in order to respect his seriousness of purpose and the sincerity of his belief in the Land and People of Israel. Rabbi Amital is helping to spread understanding between the two sides who are legitimately divided on the issue of the peace process, but who must work together if the State of Israel is to survive and flourish.

ernment is not a demonized force

savaging the Land and the People of

RABBI HASKEL LOOKSTEIN

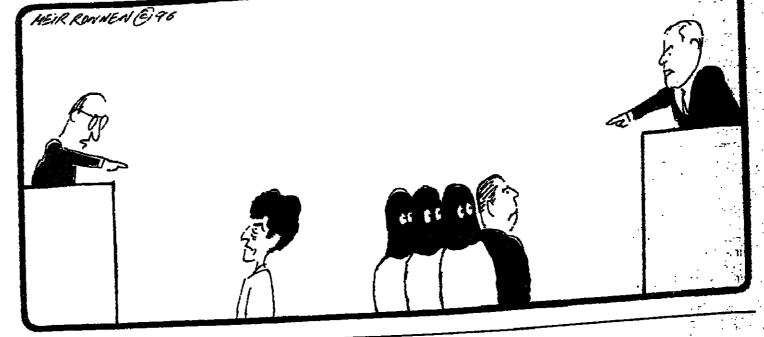
SPEAKING TRUTH

Sir, - Bravo for Esther Wachsman's "A process that mocks justice (March 15). Mrs. Wachsman is a heroine because of tragic circumstances. In addition, she is an intelligent, articulate woman who expresses well the present state of

message that the current Labor gov-

affairs we find ourselves in. Since she and her husband did "give peace a chance," her credibility and insight should be respected even by ardent Oslo supporters.

JANICE WEINREB



Guilty!

A shattering of party lines

HE Oslo process has shat-tered traditional demarcation lines in Israeli politics. While outright left-wingers are casting doubts on the Oslo accords, louder voices on the right are calling for its acceptance.

Candidate number 13 on Meretz's list in the last elections now talks about the "Oslo illusion" and wrote this week: "It is now clear that the whole security side of this approach [relying on the Palestinians in the war against terrorism] has been refuted. The areas handed over to the PLO have become a greenhouse for nurturing Hamas and other organizations; they have turned into a refuge for murderers and thieves. Meanwhile, our hands are tied, and we cannot do the job ourselves.

At the same time, candidate number 13 in the Likud primaries is stating that his party should accept the Oslo agreement as a given, and come to terms with it. This polarization and lack of

congruity with party lines are the consequence of the twilight in which the Oslo agreement is wrapped. It has been identified, wrongly, as a peace process, when in fact it is only a temporary arrangement which doesn't even guarantee a complete cease-fire. There is now a consensus across the political spectrum that the IDF

should not be sent back to Gaza; just as in 1967 there was virtual agreement that the Gaza Strip should be annexed (it even fea-tured in Mapam's peace plan.) Israel could have pulled out of Gaza even without the Oslo agreement. Prior to the 1992 elections,

proposed a unilateral withdrawal from Gaza, even without an agreement with the Palestinians. But our negotiators at Oslo weren't just thinking of Gaza. They had another objective: the end of Palestinian terrorism.

On this question, Prof. Yehoshua

defense minister Moshe Arens

trying to pull a fast one by proposing a new covenant, without any

MOSHE ZAK

Porat, noted for his research on the Palestinian nationalist movement, wrote this week: "The signatories to the Oslo agreement did not pay attention to the basics. In the document brought home from Oslo they did not demand that the Palestinians cease the armed struggle, only that they should

"Anyone familiar with the style

The confusion of left and right over the Oslo accord only

of Arab rhetoric knows that the Arabs do not consider they are carrying out terrorist attacks, but actions in a legitimate armed struggle."

The repeal of clauses in the Palestinian Covenant calling for the elimination of Israel wasn't included in the original Oslo agreement either. Only after a lastminute PLO demand for recognition as the representative of the Palestinian people did Israel add its requirement on changing the covenant.

The PLO, in no hurry to uphold this undertaking, has now made its fulfillment conditional on our ending the closure of the territories and evacuating Hebron.

WHEN THE Americans sought the repeal of the 1975 UN resolution equating Zionism with racism, they knew how to go about it, simply and assertively. They won a decisive majority in the UN for a proposed resolution explicitly annulling the anti-

Israel hasn't been sufficiently alert to Palestinian maneuvering on the covenant issue. The PLO is

highlights its contradictions round in the search for a way to

reach a settlement with the

anti-Israel clauses. But it will keep

the old covenant in its bottom

drawer, ready to use when needed.

signed with the PLO may be seen

as a package of confusions, con-

tradictions, blind alleys, and

equivocations, all going round and

Palestinians. The pushing for separation and the imposition of the closure on the territories do not jibe with the declarations of economic cooperation made at Oslo.

It is true that Israel's security requirements are what made the closure necessary, but the Oslo agreement was supposed to provide a solution to security problems. It hasn't lived up to expecta-

The "Oslo spirit" gave birth to Israel's campaign to raise financial support for the Palestinian Authority, on the assumption that famine in Gaza spawns suicide But this claim has boomeranged

back on us. The Arabs are now claiming that the closure has caused millions of dollars in damage to the residents of the territories; they are therefore demanding that Israel end the closure at once so the Palestinians can come and work here.

In the Oslo agreement, Israel

territories with a living, but it did, in the Paris agreement, commit itself to providing work for the

Following the Six Day War, Palestinians. government "doves" opposed employing workers from the territories in Israel, but the "hawks" pressed for it so as to bring about The Oslo process is not a fin-ished product. The agreements the economic integration of Judea,

Samaria, and Gaza with Israel. Now the shoe is on the other foot. The doves are calling for employing workers from the territories instead of foreign workers, while the hawks support the continuation of the closure.

This reversal is just another example of the new chaos in our

political system.

More: Those who spoke loudest against Israeli investment across the Green Line are now urging the government to invest beyond it for Palestinian benefit. And those who claimed the settlements stole resources from our development towns and poor neighborhoods are now willing to transfer resources to the Palestinians, who cannot work in Israel.

All this is being voiced with the rationale that Israel exploited the Palestinians during the occupation - totally ignoring the fact that the annual per-capita income of the Palestinians in Judea, Samaria. and Gaza is 40 percent higher than that of their brethren across the bonder in Jordan and Egypt.

Our problems with our neighbors are too complex for instant Oslo-type solutions. Such problems cannot be solved at the stroke of a pen.

At Oslo, a limited time-span was allowed for solving an age-old A genuine peace process

requires cautious steps forward, a great deal more patience, and no panic over the possibility of a renewed intifada.

The writer, a veteran journalist, comments on current affairs.

A little from here, a bit from there

The opposition can take either of two positions. It can say that the Oslo agreement and its implementation is a single package, and the terror proves that this package was a mistake from the start.

Or it can argue that the terror proves major changes in the implementation of Oslo are necessary, that those changes can be made without giving up on Oslo, and that it remains to be seen whether Oslo can be made to

work. The core of Oslo, Yitzhak Rabin's legacy, has two components: a relationship between the government of Israel and representatives of the Palestinians, and transfer to Palestinian Authority control of the area densely populated by Palestinians.

No matter what else in the Oslo process is changed, if these two components remain, it is still Rabin's Oslo strategy.

Two underlying approaches were available for implementing the basic Oslo strategy. Shimon Peres chose to use the "new Middle East" approach, which says that because of changes in the world, especially the Middle East, the way to protect Israel's security is to satisfy the reasonable needs of the Palestinians and help Yasser Arafat strengthen the PA so that he and it can cooperate with Israel and control any residual terror

The alternative is to see relations between the Palestinians and Israel after the Oslo peace as being like other relations in the Middle East. Every Arab ruler knows that although other Arab rulers embrace him when they meet, they may attack him or his country by military force or assassination at any time.

In the Middle East security comes not from peace alone, but from physical measures of selfprotection, balance of power and interest, and from deterrence. Governments only do what they MAX SINGER

have agreed to do when they are forced to. Instead of condemning the

whole Oslo process, Binyamin Netanyahu could focus on the need to go forward by implementing Oslo differently, challenging Peres, but not Rabin. The alternative to Peres could be

a "real Middle East" approach rather than a rejection of Oslo.

consistent with Rabin's argument that Oslo preserved Israel's options. Eventually, if nothing else works, Israel will have to give up the Oslo experiment and resume its control of the Arab cities, or any of them which con-

tinue to support terrorists.

This would not be the goal; it would be the last resort - and the Palestinians' greatest incentive to

How about replacing Peres's New Middle East with a 'Real Middle East' approach?

The opposition could promise that although it disagreed with Oslo when the agreement was made, since it is now a reality with widespread support, in the interest of unity it will work to try to make the essential core of Oslo succeed.

Since the Palestinians have not complied with the terms of Oslo, Israel isn't required to continue along the implementation path Peres has taken; it has no obligation to refrain from the measures it needs to protect itself.

Using this approach, Netanyahu would add increasingly forceful measures of attacking terrorist organizations. While the war against terror would not ask Palestinian permission, it would start by trying to do the job with minimal interference Palestinian life. But additional measures would be added as necessary, despite the disruption of Palestinian life, until the terrorists are defeated.

Success would come from a combination of Israeli measures and actions that Palestinians take, as more and more of them reluctantly become convinced that the only way they can protect themselves is by controlling terrorists.

Using standard security techniques for fighting terrorists is

solve the problem before it becomes necessary.

A "real Middle East" approach would have to make clear that Oslo's reference to the "mutual rights" of Israel and of the Palestinians means that both Israel and the Palestinians have rights, not that they have the same or

equal rights.
Palestinians' rights are based on the fact that many of them have been living on a portion of the land for a number of generations, although no Palestinian or local Arab group was ever sovereign in

Israel's rights have multiple sources, including the League of Nations mandate, international law, Israel's descent from the Jewish states that were sovereign for more than 1,000 years, and Israeli settlement on previously unused land. The assertion by the government

of Israel of claims of right in what remains of Mandatory Palestine is part of the heart of a realistic approach to implementing Oslo. If Israel gave up Nablus and Ramallah like a thief returning stolen property, it would be hard to convince Palestinians that Israel might take them back. Fear of losing the areas they have been given

is the ultimate motivation for Palestinians to make the peace work. While this does not require Israel to make specific threats, it does require that Israel shows it believes in its legal and moral claims to the land.

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If Netanyahu takes a realistic approach to implementing Oslo, those Israelis who didn't think it could work could take the limited risk of joining Oslo's supporters in an attempt to make Rabin's experiment succeed. If the attempt works, the former

will turn out to have been wrong: if it doesn't work, the latter will be the ones who have to sav "You were right; now we'll have to try your way again." But in either case Israel will be

preserving the unity of policy it needs to protect the country, although there will be bitter arguments about whether the high cost in lives was necessary. This approach will bring togeth-

er the great majority of Israelis. leaving out only those who believe in a new Middle East and those who believe that the unity of Jewish land is more important than the unity of the Jewish people and the security of the Jewish

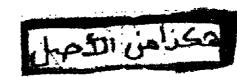
It also has the advantage of preserving the great diplomatic benefits Oslo brought to Israel. At the core of Oslo was some-

thing of great value that produced important benefits for Israel at very high cost. To bring Israelis together, Oslo should be neither rejected out of

hand nor stubbornly implemented with discredited approaches.

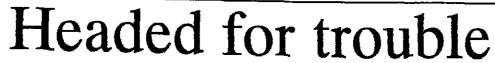
The unity israel needs depends on Israelis learning that the best answer often takes something from both sides.

The writer, former managing director of the World Institute in Jerusalem, is author of The Real World Order: Zones of Peace/Zones of Turmoil.



To Jainsalam by

مكنامن الأطهل



Tith this week's pri-maries behind us, Israel's political system, despite appearances to the contrary, is not headed toward America. Instead, we may very well be headed toward very serious trouble. And we may get there without really knowing what's in store for us.

The danger comes from the combination of the system of primaries and the direct election of the prime minister, due to go into effect in the coming general elec-

Direct election carries with it the risk of stalemate, the chance that the prime minister-elect will not be able to put together a majority coalition. Primary elections increase the risk, because they weaken the control of the party leader in his own party.

Avraham Brichta, chairman of the Political Science Department of Haifa University, in an article in Ha'aret: (November 22, 1995) that should be required reading for everyone in Israel who takes politics seriously, called attention to provisions in the still-untested law for the direct election of the prime minister that have apparentily escaped notice.

According to Section 14 of the Basic Law: The Government, the prime minister-elect must appear before the Knesset, with his gov-ernment, within 45 days of the publication of the election results. Section 15(a) states that if within those 45 days . 1e government is not presented to the Knesset, special elections will be held. These special elections are only of the prime minister, not of the Knesset.

That's not the end of it. If the prime minister is reelected, but again fails to put together a coalition within 45 days, then again there are elections for prime minister. But after two tries, he is finished. Section 15(b) provides that he can't be a candidate for prime minister again.

HERE IS a test case: Binyamin Netanyahu is elected prime minister. David Levy demands the moon. If he doesn't get it, he will take a walk with his seven MKs. democratically elected in the ALLAN E. SHAPIRO

Gesher primaries. Without Levy, Netanyahu has no Knesset major-

Suppose Netanyahu says no. Then there are new elections, but only for prime minister. Levy and his seven MKs just sit tight.

Pure fantasy? Perhaps. But the really dangerous fantasy is the notion that the directly elected prime minister holds a whip over he Knesset, including the MKs of his own party: If he doesn't get his way, he can force elections

for a new Knesset. This simply is not true. It is not true immediately after the elections, as we have seen. Indeed, Knesset dissidents have the whip-hand, if they are needed to

Primaries mixed with direct election of the premier makes a dangerous brew

form a majority.

Later on, once the Knesset has voted confidence in the government, it is only half true. After that, the prime minister can dissolve an oppositionist Knesset, but, as Brichta points out, according to Section 22 of the Basic Law: The Government, he can do it on: with the agreement of the preside

The draftin of this provision recalls those halcyon days when the president was still a titular head of state, on the model of the British monarch. What could be more in the parliamentary tradition? The prime minister asks the head of state for a dissolution of the nation's parliament.

But that titular president isn't around any more. Instead, we have Ezer Weizman. He just might have his own ideas on the subject - for example, that a national unity government is preferable.

Just as we don't have a titular head of state any more, neither do we have disciplined parties.

That's where the adoption of the system of primaries comes in. In tomorrow's Knesset, every member is, to no small degree, in business for himself. Criticism of primaries has concentrated on faults within the system itself. The problem of financing urgently needs attention, for example.

The system does not exclude the possibility of manipulation of various sorts, generally lumped together under the rubric of deals. However, little attention has been accorded the integration of the system as such, with or without its imperfections, in the political culture of Israel.

If all goes well, and there is no stalemate between the prime minister and an oppositionist Knesset, the impact of the combination of direct election of the prime minister and primaries is likely to differ in the two major political camps.

Netanyahu has supported both reforms. A presidential style of leadership is consistent with the populist tradition of Jabotinsky. How this jibes with the presence of 14 MKs with independent bases of power is a question.

The political socialization of Shimon Peres is strongly parliamentarian. He opposed the adoption of direct elections and is less than enthusiastic about primaries. The Labor movement rests on a federative basis, antagonistic to populistic leadership. Peres, like Yitzhak Rabin before him, is aware of the limitations of party leadership. Even Rabin, with his presiden-

tial pretensions, refused to condone the return of Haim Ramon to Labor on terms similar to Netanyahu's deals with Tsomet and Gesher. Nor has Peres tried to lure back the Third Way, even though the Golan issue is off the agenda for the coming elections.

However, if there are problems in putting together a majority coalition, the political system as a whole is in for trouble. Perhaps the direct election of the prime minister and primaries are festivals of democracy. But after the festivities, what then?

The writer is a legal and political commentator.

a homeland, in a world where

evil and violence continue to

defile the human spirit. This

courageous act shows that moral

aspiration and hope can tran-

scend the memory of suffering

As in the past, so today. We

cannot let the terrorists and the

Assads of history become the

No one knows whether suicide

bombings will end or whether

another madman will blow him-

self up in a crowded bus or at a

pedestrian crossing. Total secu-

rity against maniacal terrorists

But there is one form of secu-

rity that our enemies bave never

been able to destroy: our power

to remember and tell liberation

stories; to pursue freedom and

justice, even from the margins of

history; our power to sing "Next

year in Jerusalem" in spite of

We must never forget Egypt.

We must never forget the

Holocaust. But we must remem-

ber that what makes us Jews is

the fact that Moses brought us to

The writer is founder and director of the Shalom Hartman Institute, and a member of the

Department of Jewish Thought

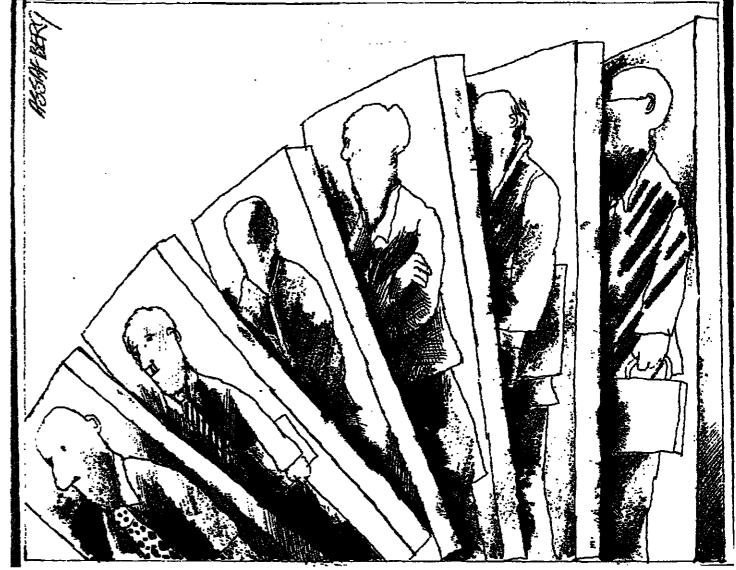
at the Hebrew University.

insecurity and vulnerability.

apparently cannot be achieved.

focal points of our identity.

in shaping our destiny.



American import that works

Thy governor, every thinking man will be voting for you," an avid admirer once said to Adlai Stevenson. Unimpressed, the man who ultimately lost two consecutive presidential races, retorted: "Yes, but what I need is

a majority." This politically-charged week left scores of disgrunded losers across Israel, people whose political aspirations, like Stevenson's, were dealt a severe blow when they failed to win a majority.

And in line with local custom, only a very few of them were noble enough to attribute their defeats to their own rather than the system's failures.

As may be expected, many of those losers now shrink from Israel's new, jingoistic, telegenic politics of fliers, T-shirts, and touch screens.

to define itself as a persecuted

But the system is good – and if victim. Instead it chose to build a some doubted its merits, this week's primary elections did a good job of proving them wrong. It's a great temptation to say that our American-imported primaries are to politics what cheeseburgers are to gastronomy that are high on looks, taste and

aroma, but low on nutrition. The primaries, warned their opponents, might suck the business sector into dense political labyrinths, spawning dema-gogues and transforming nonentities into instant leaders - like Chauncey, the handsome gardener in Jerzy Kosinski's Being There who rose to political prominence in spite of being mentally retarded.

Yes, the relationship between politics and big business is problematic: but only a fool would think it all began with the dawn of the primaries era.

Didn't Mapai's finance minister Pinhas Sapir enlist the clout of leading industrialists like textile tycoon Yisrael Polack back in the '60s? Didn't Menachem Begin utilize the services of fishing magnate Ya'acov Meridor in

What about Agudat Yisrael? Didn't it tap the wealth of carpet tycoon Avraham Shapira in the 1980s? And didn't millionaire Shmuel Flatto-Sharon criminally buy his way into the Knesset back in 1977?

Like recent revelations of big

AMOTZ ASA-EL

business-contaminated politics in Italy, France, Japan and Spain, none of this bore any relation to the primaries system.

To suggest, therefore, that the symbiotic relationship between society's two main power sources, mammon and dominion. began in our time, and in Israel, betrays either ignorance, or deviousness, or both.

Moreover, those who were alarmed by earlier warnings of legislators financed by the underworld roaming the Knesset will

supported, displaying a remarkable measure of conservatism while using their new clout to smooth out the professional politicians' most glaring bumps. Had it not been for the pri-

maries, we would have had four more years of lackluster party hacks like Micha Harish, the minister of industry and trade, who besieged the Bank of Israel and the Treasury, insisting they hand out tax money to rich foreign investors; or Yisrael Kessar, the minister of transport who did

For those who doubted the merits of primaries, this week went a long way in proving them wrong

have a hard time telling us who those hoodlums "front men" might be: Knesset Speaker and political scientist Shevah Weiss? Actress Naomi Blumenthal? Classical music expert Dan Meridor? Yossi Beilin, author of three books?

THE PUBLIC did not, in the end, make any particularly awkward choices this week. In fact, the results look as reasonable as any party caucus's, if not downright

Labor, Likud and Meretz voters all elected teams strikingly similar to those they had previously

little - actually, nothing - to privatize our airlines, buses and trains.

In a party caucus riddled with favoritism, Kessar would have easily survived; thanks to the primaries he didn't even bother to run, making room for a fresh new talent like Prof. Shlomo Ben-Ami.

Or take Benny Begin, who courageously challenged his party's pathetic pacts with p olitical hitchhikers elbowing their way into the Knesset in brazen defiance of the primary zeitgeist. Begin would have been stabbed in the back by the party apparatus

had the public not been given its chance to intercede. All this isn't to say the system is perfect.

The Labor electorate's dismissal this week of Knesset Finance Committee Chairman Gedalya Gal, for instance, was an ugly blow, retribution for the battle he waged against the Electric Company's monopoly on power generation and distribution. The apparently well-orchestrated voting of most of the company's 12,000 employees and their family members sufficed to depose

But would he have survived had his future been decided by a party center, let alone a committee? In all likelihood these would have been even more subservient to union pressure.

In short, this can be said about the primaries: They are better than what we had before. Now they need legislation to standard-

ize and regulate them.
Had all the parties' primaries been held on the same day. required no party membership but just a citizen's ID, been run under the umbrella supervision of a judicial team, and been done for all parties at every voting station – even this writer, an obsessively apolitical animal, might have voted in them.

The writer is business editor of The Jerusalem Post. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the paper.

Hope, the prevailing motif

many of us are asking: How can we delebrate our liberation while feeling the pain of terrorism and fanatic violence, and anxiety over their recurrence?

What possible meaning can the words "Next Year in Jerusalem" have when Jews fear to ride buses and walk the streets of the city?

In our hearts we always believed that our return to Jerusalem would usher in a period when Jews would no longer feel the anxiety of homelessness and powerlessness, when the Jewish psyche would regain a sense of security and trust.

It appears, however, that the idea of redemption in terms of total security and safety is more of a messianic hope than a historical fact.

In this sense, the prayer "Next Year in Jerusalem" remains unfulfilled because we realize that returning home - in the fullest sense - remains an aspiration, and not a description of our lived reality.

Nevertheless, we continue to celebrate the holiday of Pessah, to retell the great drama of liberation which marks the birth of our people. The significance of this lies, I believe, in its deep formative effect on Jewish consciousness.

The story of this founding moment in our history combines two countervailing motifs: a great hope for redemption, and a profound understanding of the pain and suffering of unre-

deemed history.

Jewish history and Jewish memory begin with the words "We were slaves to Pharaoh in Egypt." The first memory engraved in our souls is that of elevery and exploitation, the slavery and exploitation, the humiliation and degradation of being subject to the arbitrary will of a political despot.

"A new king arose over Egypt who did not know Joseph

(Exod. 1:8). Despotism cannot be overcome by finding favor with or appeasing a despot. History may always give rise to new pharaohs who seek power without limits, feeling no moral compunction in reducing human beings to objects. Abuse of power is endemic to the human condition, and the Pessah story certainly shatters any romantic illusions one might have about inherent goodness in human

nature. However, our movement from Egypt to Sinai - from the cruel despotism of pharaoh to the hopeful vision of Moses -informs the harsh reality of human oppression with the dream of becoming a holy peo-

DAVID HARTMAN

As long as we maintain Moses' dream, as long as we understand the significance of commandment, of law and of justice and don't lose sight of what human potential can and should achieve, we can face the realities of human history with-

TELL YOUR children the story of Pharaoh and Egypt. Do not romanticize life, or deny the reality of exploitation and injustice. But at the same time bring your children to Sinai, to the place where a nation of slaves

We can celebrate the freedom of Pessah even in uncertain times like these

heard a call to aspire to holiness

and justice. Throughout Jewish history, we never wallowed in the degradation of Egypt, because we held onto the dream of Sinai and Jerusalem. Despite our bitter experiences of hatred and moral ugliness, our psyches were not defined by suffering.

Our longing for Jerusalem was the expression of our dream that one day the sword would indeed be turned into the ploughshare. In recent history, the rebuild-ing of Israel and Jerusalem

embodies the sense of hope that has always nurtured us as a people. The State of Israel attests to our strength in defying the pharaohs of the 20th century through our decision to become a visible – and vulnerable – member of the community of

The Jewish people has refused



Salute to the A day to remember

Join the annual "Salute to the Golan"

on Sunday, April 7th, 1995, Hol Hamoed Pessah

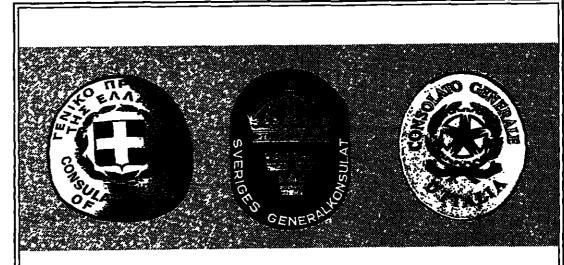
Flight from Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv to the Galilee * View Syria from a strategic military position.

Visit the Golan's largest fruit packing plant, Perot Ha'Golan Kosher lunch with residents

Qazrin: The world famous Golan winery "Oz LaGolan" spectacular audio-visual exhibit

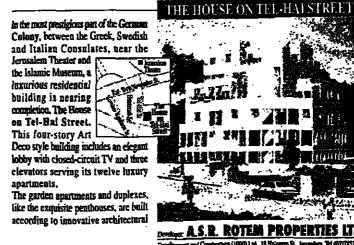
Call us for reservations at 06-963410 Tax deductible contribution of \$250 per person is requested.

Golan Residents Committee, Qazrin. Tel. 06-963410, Fax. 06-963408



THREE CONSULS WILL HAVE THE PRIVILEGE OF BEING YOUR NEIGHBORS

Take a leisurely stroll through the streets of this picturesque neighborhood, with its Jerusalem stone houses tucked away amid the pine trees, and experience its tranquil surroundings. Look around you and you'll think it's the weekend, or perhaps a holiday... Then, you'll realize why so many consuls chose to locate here . Apparently, they too have good taste.



plans, at the highest of construction standards and with perfect finish reflected in every detail. Only a few specious apartments are still available, ranging from four to six rooms each with balconies or gardens,

marble floors, double-glazed windows, deluxe Regba kitchens, underground parking and storage space. SPECIAL OFFER FOR ALLMITTED TIME ONLY!

Buy now and enjoy custom interior architectural planning at no extra cost.

אמעבטדון א

Jewish Agency, government sued by Ukrainian immigrants

activists from Moscow have been involved in a scam in which immigrants' funds disappeared have reached Jerusalem following the claim for damages filed Wednesday by 175 new immigrants from Ukraine.

The suit filed in the Jerusalem District Court demands NIS 4 million from the head of the Va'ad (the Ukrainian Jewish umbrella organization), Yosef Zisels, as well as the Jewish Agency and the Israeli government's Liaison Bureau, Nativ. They are represented by lawyers Doron Bekerman and Yoram Sheftel.

Zisels is said to divide his time between Israel and Ukraine.

According to the charges, the immigrants gave money from their savings and the sale of their property to Zisels to transfer to Israel at

the advice of emissaries working

BATSHEVA TSUR

for the agency and bureau.

However, they claim they were not paid the sums half a year later,

contract with the Va'ad. The agency spokesman expressed surprise that the agency's name had been raised in

as had been stipulated in their

There is no, and has not been any, connection between the agency and its emissaries and the transfer of funds to Israel," the spokesman said. "The transfer of foreign capital through private financial companies is illegal under Ukrainian law. Any such attempt would have endangered the work of the emissaries and the subsequent aliya. There are legal methods to buy foreign currency

believing he was involved. But

the man was released soon after-

wards, and apparently is no longer

Police are keeping a tight lid on

the investigation, and presented

classified material to the judge to

ensure details of the case would

not be made public, on grounds it

mittee, which will choose the

party's Knesset candidates next

week. The convention also decid-

he reache

would hurt the investigation.

Agency officials said that since the Va'ad uses facilities of Israeli organizations, perhaps it is not clear to the immigrants who is an official and who an activist. The agency has already placed ads in Ukrainian papers dissociating itself from such activities and sent similar instructions to emissaries, the spokesman said.

Aliya department head Uri Gordon asked Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal several months ago to launch a police investigation into the affair.

When the first charges by immigrants that they had lost money left with so-called consular and agency officials in Ukraine were first received 14 months ago, the agency investigated and it appeared that all the names and addresses of those involved belonged to the Va'ad activists, the spokesman said.

World waits for Britain to contain mad cow panic

VANORA BENNETT LONDON

THE world waited for Britain to contain the worsening mad cow crisis, as trade chaos spread to Europe and beyond over worries that eating British beef could be dangerous to human health.

But the British government, debating how to end the eight-day crisis, made clear it was not yet ready to announce plans to slaughter parts of its 11-million herd. It wants details, including compensation, in place first.

Beef markets have gone into decline. The Portuguese have halved their beef intake. Irish cattle have been banned from Iran in case they were British cows smuggled over the Northern Irish border. Burger chain McDonald's

is using Dutch beef.

"We must return to a more rational approach," French Farm Minister Philippe Vasseur said, adding that markets were now being driven by "fantasy and irrationality" and the top priority for

tificates proving it did not come Europe was to restore consumer from Britain pending new EU rules to check mad cow disease. The crisis began when the British government admitted on

Germany followed a Wednesday lead by French President Jacques Chirac and offered solidarity and possible financial help for Britain if it opted to slaughter parts of its

British farmers facing bank-ruptcy reacted with fury to what they saw as government procrasti-

For the government to go floundering on while farmers' businesses go down the tubes is turning them [farmers] from despondency to fury," said Robin Craddock, the National Farmers Union (NFU) representative in northeast England.

Slaughtering vast numbers of cattle would create immense practical problems - including how to dispose of the bodies.

If older cattle likeliest to have the disease were killed at a rate of 15,000 a week, the bill would come to £650 million (\$1 billion) a year. A more radical option, slaughtering all cattle in herds touched by BSE, would cost up to

26 billion (\$9 billion).
Inside Britain, the crisis became a new stick with which to beat the unpopular Conservative

Prime Minister John Major. "In one fateful week, this goverament by its own ineptitude has transformed what the chief medical officer accurately described as 'a cause for concern' into a public relations fiasco," thundered the usually pro-government Daily

The crisis surrounding one of Britain's major export earners was dominating proceedings in and around parliament all day, ending with a debate in the House of Commons in the evening.

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Woman held in connection with husband's murder

Arab parties negotiate

united list

DAVID RUDGE

THE wife of a Jerusalem man found murdered in his home three months ago has been arrested "in connection with the murder." police announced yesterday, after she was remanded for nine days by Jerusalem Magistrate's Court.

Mark Sperber, 29, was found dead hy a habysitter who had been called to the family's Ramot apartment by his wife Yulia, 26, who at the time told police she was worried when he failed to answer the phone, and had no idea

OFFICIALS of the Islamic

Movement and the Democratic

Arab Party (DAP) led by MK Abdul Wahab Darawshe began

formal negotiations in Nazareth

last night to forge a united Arab

who was behind the murder. A few days later, police detained a man who was allegedly having

an affair with Yulia Sperber,

ISRAELI Arab leaders have decided to mark the 20th anniversary of Land Day, which falls tomorrow, in quiet fashion. Municipal services in Arab towns and villages throughout the country will be shut down for the day, although all schools and businesses will be open as usual.

In the past, leaders of the

tions, on March 30, 1976, erupted in riots in which six Israeli Arabs were killed and dozens of people, including police and members of

ed on the party's platform and There have been violent crup-The DAP has already chosen its optimistic that an agreement over

Meanwhile, supporters of the Labor Party among the Arab com-munity in the North expressed disappointment that there was no plethora of candidates who split the votes in the primaries.

> A spokesman for the monitoring committee said parades and memorial services for those who died in the first Land Day demonstrations 20 years ago would be held in the Galilee, the Triangle,

list to run in the Knesset elections. candidates, with the list being headed by its two outgoing MKs, Contacts have been held Darawshe and Taleb a-Sanaa. between the two groups since the decision of the movement earlier Party spokesman Mohammed Darawshe said DAP officials are this week to run on a unified list

for the first time in its history. been in touch with the newly next week. formed Arab Movement for Change (AMC) party headed by Dr. Ahmed Tibi, adviser to Palestinian Authority chairman

vention in Taiba on Wednesday night and elected its central com-Civilian IDF workers file labor dispute

Yasser Arafat. The AMC held its founding conrepresentative from the Galilee on the party's Knesset list, due to a

The Histadrut announced yesterday that for the first time in the state's history, it has endorsed the declaration of a labor dispute involving civilian IDF employees. Yehoshua Maimon, head of an employees union with some 12,000 members, charged the IDF with violating a collective agreement it has with 80,000 workers in managerial positions and 15,000 other workers. Histadrut Chairman MK Amir Peretz said the labor federation will do everything possible to avert a strike.

> With sorrow we announce the passing of our beloved mother and grandmother

LUBA BERGER

The funeral will take place today, Friday, March 29, 1996, at 2:00 p.m., at Kibbutz Tzorah.

Deeply mourned by her

Son: Solly and Cora Berger Daughters: Bessie and Ozzy Ozinsky Hannah and Isaac Bloch **Bertha Berger**

Grandchildren: Rosalle, Beverley, Larry, Danya, Rami and Keren

Shiva at Kibbutz Tzorah

The staff of

Anglo-Saxon Real Estate (Jerusalem)

extend sincere condolences to the managing director of the company

Werner Loval

on the death of his sister

ERICA STEINBERGER

in New York

May her memory be a blessing.

Israeli Arabs to mark 20th **Land Day** quietly

DAVID RUDGE

800,000-strong Arab community have declared a general strike on Land Day to mark their struggle against the expropriation of Arabowned land by the state.

The first Land Day demonstra-

the security forces, were injured.

tions during Land Day demonstrations on previous occasions, but in the past few years the event has passed quietly, becoming more of a holiday for the Israeli Arab community. The event this year seems likely to follow the same trend following a decision by the monitoring committee of the Israeli Arab leadership not to call a general strike.

Instead, it was decided to devote the first two hours of lessons in Arab schools to the Land Day issue and its significance, and tie this in with discussions on democracy and the peace

and the Negev, as in previous

Parties pledge to run clean campaigns

LIAT COLLINS

LESS than five minutes after signing a covenant pledging to run clean election campaigns, Tzahi Hanegbi (Likud) and Labor whip Ra'anan Cohen had already accused each other of being unable to uphold it. Representatives from several parties signed the covenant yesterday in the Knesset, with new parties expected to sign in the future. It calls for dignified election campaigns without physical violence or personal, religious and ethnic slurs. It also demands party activists keep the country clean and obey anti-littering laws regarding campaign posters and flyers.

The covenant was prepared before previous elections by the Sovianut (Tolerance) Movement and was overseen by Justice Theodore Orr, head of the Central

Although most speakers at the short signing ceremony used the words "tolerance" and "unity," Hanegbi accused the coalition of making arbitrary decisions and

exploiting a tiny Knesset majority. After the ceremony, Hanegbi told reporters he is "skeptical about the ability of the ruling par-ties to keep to the pledge for a fair and equal campaign."

"Look who's talking," Cohen replied. "Hanegbi will breach everything that's written in it. He's the last person to teach the Labor Party about fair play."

Russian forces make grab for Chechen territory The latest efforts seem designed to push the fighters into

Murch 20 that there was a possible

link herween hovine spongiform

encephalopathy (BSE) and its

deadly human strain Creutzveld-

Jacob disease. Both attack the

Europeans took their own dam-

An emergency meeting for

European Union farm ministers was set for Monday, following the

European Commission's decision

on Wednesday to ban all exports

of British beef and beef products

and the sale of cattle and caives of

British origin in France, at least until Monday, "as a precautionary

ordered beef to carry health cer-

Vasseur suspended slaughtering

Germany's health minister

age-limitation measures.

to protect human health.

measure to restore caim.

forces attacked Chechen separatists on three fronts yesterday. trying to seize control of more territory in the breakaway region before President Boris Yeltsin unveils a new peace plan on

A Defense Ministry spokesman in Moscow said planes and artillery were used in the assaults in southern, southwestern and southeastern Chechnya.

"In the last 24 hours Russian aviation and artillery have continued delivering strikes against rebel positions in the vicinity of Bamui, Stary Achkhoi and Orekhovo," he said.

Bamut, in the southwest, houses a former Soviet nuclear missile Zulus march with

ment of more than 3,000 police and troops.

sioner Sharma Maharai said.

metal bars stayed orderly.

"Mandela is a killer."

spears through

Johannesburg

JOHANNESBURG (Reuter) - Twelve thousand Zulus, many brandish-

ing spears/marched through Johannesburg yesterday to mark the killing

Fears of violence, especially after the Zulus vowed to defy a ban on

But the march ended peacefully, with praise for the Zulus from the

"The organizers and the majority of the marchers were disciplined and

The march was the biggest in South Africa's commercial capital since

all-race elections in April 1994. Police said they seized 13 assegais

(stabbing spears) and an ax from one group.

But witnesses said police seemed generally content to avoid con-

frontation as long as marchers many brandishing spears and sharpened

except for the Zulus, some of whom carried placards condemning President Nelson Mandela "Mandela deserves a death sentence" and

There were no reports of violence in the city center, largely deserted

showed good spirit throughout the march," provincial police commis-

their carrying traditional weapons such as spears, brought the deploy-

two years ago of eight fellow tribesmen by guards of South Africa's

bombarding for more than a year. Guerrillas are holed up in the tunnels and corridors of the com-

plex, which houses four bombproof concrete shafts once used to store medium-range ballistic missiles. It is seen as one of the rebels' most important strongholds in the footbills of the Chechen mountains.

The spokesman said federal forces had seeled off two villages in southern Chechnya and were starting to blockade three more settlements in the southeast.

Russian troops hold most of the Chechen lowlands, but they have failed to make any big territorial gains in the mountains, despite 15 months of fighting.

the thinly populated southern mountains, far from strategic oil pipelines and from the regional capital Grozny, a city of 400,000 people before the fighting started December 1994. Officials in Moscow and among the Russian-backed administration in Grozny have

said large-scale assaults in the Caucasus region will end once Yeltsin announces his peace plan. The proposals, believed to

involve limited troop withdrawals and the creation of so-called "islands of peace" in the region, will not meet the independence demands of Chechen separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev.

German Embassy worker killed in Togo

LOME, Togo (AP) - Soldiers manning a roadblock shot to death a German diplomat after he refused to let them search his car... the government said vesterday to The suspects were later arrested.

The victim was identified as a German Embassy employee whose duties included acting as an administrative and technical attache.

According to a communique read over state-run radio, the victim was stopped at about 11 p.m. Wednesday at a routine roadblock in the capital, Lome. Such roadblocks are common throughout West Africa and often are used by soldiers or police to extort money from drivers.

The victim, who was driving alone, stopped for the soldiers, but when they demanded to search his car he sped off. Soldiers opened fire on the vehicle, killing the man.

Russian tv reporter slain in Tajikistan

dent for Russia's largest television station was gunned down yester-day at his office in Dushaube, the

capital of war-torn Tajikistan. Viktor Nikuliu, 27, was the 29th journalist killed in the former Soviet republic since the 1992 civil war, the ITAR-Tass news agency said.

He was shot twice after answering a knock on his office door yesterday afternoon, said Nadezhda Stekova in the chief production office at ORT television in Moscow.

"He was so young, just a boy, the son of our correspondent there," she said. "They were just

beginning to work together."

In Dushanbe, Tajikistan's deputy interior minister, Gen. Gennady Blinov, told ITAR-Tass that the slaying was a "terrorist act" by an unknown gumman. He did not relationate.

Tajikistani is iam impoverished former Soviel republic in Central Asia where a hardline, Moscowbacked government has been at war with mostly Islamic opposition fighters for years.

The government has been harshly criticized by prominent international human rights groups for widespread human rights violations, including cases involving iournalists.

Opposition forces have also been criticized for terrorist attacks, including the murders of Russians living in Tajikistan.

ORT is the largest broadcaster in the former Soviet Union.

Briton robs gas Bulgaria station to pay to recall for wedding LONDON (Reuter) - A penniless **Swiss** British bridegroom who robbed the same gas station twice in two days to pay for his wedding and envoy in honeymoon was jailed yesterday for five years. Police arrested 47-year-old antisemitic Derek Lovett as he waited for his marriage ceremony to begin, dressed in a suit with a carnation in his buttonhole. row

burst into tears as he was dragged SOFIA (Reuter) - Bulgaria said on Wednesday it planned to recall its off in handcuffs in January. ambassador to Switzerland fol-

lowing her controversial marriage to an alleged antisemite. wedding ring. He robbed a gas station in east A Foreign Ministry spokesman told Reuters that Elena Kircheva had failed to obey government instructions and had harmed the country's image abroad with her

marriage Kircheva's husband, Petar Hadzhidimitrov, is known in Switzerland for his antisemitic views, his admiration of Adolf Hitler and his denials that the Holocaust ever took place, the spokesman said.

The couple married earlier this year. Though Bulgarian-born, Hadzhidimitrov has lived in Switzerland since 1974, he

added.
"Of course we have distanced ourselves from the views of this man and wish above all to preserve our good relations with Switzerland," the spokesman Bulgaria's Jewish organization

over the incident in a letter to the foreign ministry, the state news agency BTA said. President Zhelyu Zhelev, who appointed Kircheva as Sofia's ambassador to Berne in 1991, has approved the procedure to remove

her from her post, BTA reported.

Shalom has expressed concern

Norma Miller, his bride-to-be.

Lovett turned to crime when he realized he could not afford to pay the registry office where the couple were due to marry or buy a

London last December, making off with £150 (\$230), and returned two days later to steal the same amount again. Police identified him after looking at security camera film.

The court heard that Miller still wanted to marry Lovett and would wait until he was released.



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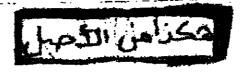
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Friday, March 29, 1996

And the winner is ... the party establishment

Sarah Honig reviews this week's party primaries in the run-up for May's elections

N the late 1970s Malcolm Wallop, a rich rancher from Big Horn, Wyoming, decided he'd like to represent his state in the US Senate. The consultants he hired could find nothing with which their man could hit the incumbent. So they composed a rousing western-style song that exhorted the voters to "come join the Wallop Senate drive."

The lively cowboy tune accompanied a video clip showing Wallop leading cheery tiders, all suitably-attired in western garb and hoisting the state flag, gallop-

ing exuberantly across the range.

The reason Wallop should be elected, according to the vibrant refrain, was that he is "Wyoming to the spur." The man who came up with this campaign line could not later explain what "Wyoming to the spur meant, but said it sounded good and so he insisted

He was right. Wallop defeated his very able predecessor and went on to win more elections because he had a catchy jingle, a great PR team and the money to pay for them. The issues were of no con-

li may be tempting to laugh this off as an embodiment of American shallowness, impossible in our deeply polarized political environ-

But the primaries we have just come through this week might well indicate that the Wallop Senate drive is exactly the sort on which our politicians might be

This week they had already started down that trail. Likud MK Uzi Landau, one of the architects of his party's defunct septets system, had long ago warned that the primaries will stifle any ideology and idealism still left in our politics.

Landau considers the primaries a distasteful ordeal. He is not affluent and personally finds it "difficult to solicit for funds. But without money there is no chance.

"I preferred seeking contributions from Jews overseas rather factor who might later need a favor. "Actually I am one of the lucky ones. I made my name before the advent of primaries. For a newcomer with no vast sums to back his political venture. it's impossible to put a foot in the primary door.

"In the end we will be left only with the rich in the Knesset or with those who had managed to win the patronage of questionable powerbrokers and kingmakers. The honest, capable, serious people will not even try."

Many - not only in Landau's party - share his view that the primaries might encourage corruption and the rise of political godfathers, worse than in the Mapai oli-

garchy of old. No sooner was the voting in the Labor primary over Monday night, than Prime Minister Shimon

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Peres opined that "this system needs repair. The financial burden it imposes on candidates is unbearable."

Foreign Minister Ehud Barak, who can't complain about the outcome, nevertheless reported "a gut feeling that this system will be

Indeed everywhere in the political arena the assessment is that after May 29, moves will be initiated to correct the system and insert into it controls so that worthy candidates will not lose out to the brash, the beautiful and the wealthy. This might well be the last time in which we see the primaries in their present form, if we believe what is being said about them in the two large parties.
But it would be foolhardy to

place any bets on reform just yet, because basically this week's primaries served the party establishments well.

In some cases, as in Meretz, the results were very much like what the appointments committee of yesteryear would have produced in the smoke-filled back room.

What was is pretty much what is in Meretz. All the MKs who were on the 1992 list made it back, except for Shulamit Aloni and Yair Tzaban who bowed out.

The fact that the new names on the list were relegated to the unsafe 11th and 12th slots only underscores the claim that the primary system confers great advantage on those who are already

But Meretz is just a small pond in comparison to the large Labor pool, where one might expect things to be far more difficult to control. Yet a careful examination of the results shows that even here the party machine did extremely well. When all is said and done, only Health Minister Ephraim Such really beat it. Everything else went just as the party establish-ment could have wished. It is the single great winner of the Labor

Peres can smile with satisfaction. Had he drawn up the list himself, as he did when he chaired the appointments committees before 1992, he would not have changed much. Uzi Baram in second slot suits him just fine.

Baram is someone relatively harmless, hardly a real challenger or a serious contender for the premiership, but he is a perfect tool with which to put the more ambitious younger boys in their place.

Peres preferred Barak over his rival Interior Minister Haim Ramon and indeed Barak beat Ramon, but was himself pushed down a peg, which from Peres's point of view is just perfect.

What happened to Ramon is certainly the vengeance of the party machine. There were organized deals and lists prepared in advance from which his name was deleted. Ramon had feared just that, and hence lobbied for open primaries.

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members could participate. This, he argued, would make it impossible for there to be bloc votes and boycotts such as the one the Histadrut old guard, closely allied to Peres, organized against

The fact that Peres's protege Yossi Beilin rose so high is also a tribute to the efficiency of the party machine, considering Beilin hardly campaigned. In 1992 he was in 27th slot and even that only after Ramon came to his aid.

The blow to Ramon and the boost for Beilin can only please Peres. His influence is omnipresent. The obligatory woman at the top is Dalia Itzik, who is close to Peres, rather than Ora Namir of the old Rabin camp. That Prof. Shlomo Ben-Ami cap-

tured a safe slot is not a sign that

newcomers can break through, but

that if Peres wills it, it can happen. we recall that Sharon too was sup-On the eve of the primaries Labor realized in panic that no Moroccans might get in. It was then the Peres pulled all stops to make sure that Ben-Ami does well. It worked.

TO SEE the jubilation on Likud leader Binyamin Netanyahu's face, one must assume that things had worked for him too. The nettlesome Benny Begin and Dan Meridor came in after newcomer General Yitzhak Mordechai, political matchmaker Ariel Sharon and even Knesset faction chairman Moshe Katsay.

Could this be the result of those rumored prepared lists from which their princely names were deliberately omitted? The easy thing is to believe that Netanyahu indeed engaged in punitive action. But this theory runs into trouble when

That the general he himself brought to the Likud von top

Mordechai, who enjoyed star sta-tus and has not yet made any ene-

billing no doubt pleases Netanyahu as it deprives Labor of the line that no one high up on his list belongs to Netanyahu's fan

Mordechai most ardently does. But the fact that someone who entered the party at the last moment could so clearly beat veteran runners, more than anything testifies to his vote-getting poten-tial rather than to the Likud being a political land of opportunity.

This year it was anything but. To begin with, the race in the Likud was more grueling than in Labor because of built-in hurdles.

Labor set aside a full half of its list to regional candidates, who will become the new Knesset's backbenchers but who pay low entrance fees.

While MK Eli Dayan failed to win a safe slot despite garnering over 74,000 votes, Ron Huldai in Tel Aviv got in with a mere 2,800. In the Likud only a third of the

list went to the regional candidates. This in itself makes for a more crowded national track and a far more uphill race.

But when 14 safe slots went to Tsomet and Gesher implants, the odds against the Likud nationwide contestants grew atrocious, with only 18 safe slots left open. Except for stars like Mordechai and former deputy GSS chief Gideon Ezra, only incumbents - and very popular ones at that - stood any

Netanyahu will be able to get away with baving so drastically cut his party's Knesset representation only if he wins the premiership. Then, there will also be little chance that Likudniks who this week advocated amending the primary system will get anywhere.

Netanyahu after all is the most enthusiastic proponent of anything American in Israeli politics He himself won the Likud leadership via the primary system. He is in his element in this style of politics. If he has his way, this is how his party will choose its candidates in future campaigns as well. To his mind there is no way back.

"It'll be sad if primaries are here to stay, even though I personally did well in them," Landau says. He is sure that "in a few carnpaigns from now Israeli politics will become the exclusive preserve of the rich and famous."

And if his dire predictions are borne out, we may soon see our own local version of Malcolm Wallop saddling up - for the great



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There were indeed attempts to

push Begin and Meridor down a

few notches, but that these came

from other ambitious candidates

Some who supported Sharon,

Katsav and other front runners

may have not voted for Begin and

Meridor, while everybody did vote

for the universally popular

seeking their own high placing.

ond possibility.

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posed to have been targeted, yet he

did better than all of the Likud's

In fact, in terms of the real

power play, he is seen as the great

winner of the Likud primaries,

well-rewarded for unifying the

national camp.

This, coupled with the fact that

the Likud lacks anything like Labor's centralized well-oiled

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and

rat you

Although politicians still use the billboard to push their campaigns. there are plenty of other alternatives, Rachel Neiman writes

TOT so long ago, election advertising used to be limited to radio jingles, wall posters, graffiti and news-

Today it looks like the sky's the limit. As a matter of fact, a company called B. Rimon Agencies is pitching ad space on

Benny Rimon says he has plenty more products on which to print the name of a candidate or party - including the EZ-Up Shelter, a collapsible tent for outdoor gatherings; polyester tablecloths; road markers; flashlights and pocket knives.

A more traditional method of

political advertising is the use of outdoor signs. Moshe Nur. whose company holds 58 per-cent of the billboard market bere, says his medium "gives a brainwash nothing else can."

Most candidates have opted for 50 units either nationwide or within a given region. The cost of a one-week-longing period is \$15,000.



Before national elections, places like Jerusalem's Mahane Yehuda market are flooded with posters of Knesset candidates and their parties. and Nur says some candidates

week before the primaries. had even planned to take advan-tage of this option for a second Interestingly, most of the candidates opted for Nur to do their graphics (this can include everything from billboards to

> opposed to working through an ad agency. Nur says it's an issue of price. The newly implemented primary system means that for the first time posters have to get across the personality of some

relatively unknown politicians. he says. Photos of the candidates

flyers and wall posters), as

help immeasurably in penetrating the public consciousness. "Surveys done by Limor Livnat [Likud] found she had a 75% rise in exposure rating after her signs went up," says Nur, who used photos to work wonders in creating awareness for Haim Ramon during his bid to

head the Histadrut. Location is also an important element in outdoor signs. Nur and other sign companies all have municipal permits for their billboards and are licensed to rent out space.

temporary sign locations and rent them directly to parties. The companies de not erect special

don't have time." Size also plays a part. For Nur also maintains that these maximum exposure. Nur recom-

mends a combination of large restrictions force party activists and small signs. "Large gives a to resort to "barbaric" methods such as "sticking up their own sense of power but small reachposters on people's walls, using es more people," he says. spray paint and causing dam-The cost of renting a supersized billboard over a major highway costs some \$5,000 for production plus \$6,000 for a week's rental and is invaluable

LESS DAMAGING, though equally annoying, are the use of junk mail and telephone sur-

Erez Almogi, general director of the Israel Direct Mail and Telemarketing Center, says he estimates "more budgets will be devoted to direct marketing and telemarketing during the upcom-ing elections. The reason why? It works.

"The advantage of this method is that we appeal with relatively expensive media (manpower-intensive telephone calls and printing) but we deal with very focused groups," says Almogi.

Companies such as Almogi's work with data bases.

In 1992 we did a fundraising the large political parties and raised over \$1 million." he says. The best way to raise funds is to locate past donors, the group with the highest rate of positive response, but this accounts for only a few thousand people.

"For this reason, parties also have to appeal to people who have never contributed.

In this case, Almogi says he looks for people with "high potential, meaning those with some form of declared party affiliation. After that its a question of combing the data bases for groups based on a range of parameters: ethnic group, geographic region, neighborhood, profession, marital status - whatever works.

ALMOGI SAYS his company even identified those who had difficulty reaching polling stations and passed their names onto their client. Rides were subsequently arranged. "The: name of the game is to get as many people as possible to the

Almogi also specializes in organizing small discussion groups in people's houses. "We believe that one-on-one is the best way to sell." Personalization is also important in direct mail, he adds.

have an advantage over TV, he says. "You've got to take into account that in 1992 there was only one station. This time there are two channels plus cable. That means the number of viewers [per ad] will be much lower

and the cost-effectiveness of TV

advertising less." This is particularly true for primaries, he points out, with their NIS 200,000-per-candidate limit on advertising budgets. "This is very low, so expensive media such as TV, newspapers and radio won't play a part.

Diffuse though it may be, TV has become the most dominant media form used in campaigning since being allowed in 1984, says Haim Pelled, chairman of the Israeli chapter of the Advertising International Association. The reason is that "it reaches most of the popula-

"No paper and no billboard can reach that many," Pelled says: "Radio lacks the added dimension of being able to look the candidate in the eye." Eye witness, he points out, also carries more weight in the Jewish legal tradition. "There's another Jewish expression: 'A man sees with the eyes of his spirit." People see TV even if they don't always listen. They use it to interpret a candidate's reliability, empathy, trustworthiness."

In the past, says Pelled, who has been in the ad business since 1959, political parties used movie reels to get across their message.

"Generally, the emphasis was on construction, building, industry, immigration and everything centered around the idea of national security."

This focus around national rather than personal security is a very important point, Pelled says, and was expressed in party makeup. "Whoever had the most generals had the electoral power. so it was easier then for the Left to sell itself."

Israel's right, he says, scored its first coup with Arik Sharon. Today, "the Likud has more generals than Labor."

Pelled predicts this relative advantage is temporary, as personal security in the face of terrorism gains in importance.

The shift, he says, came in the late '70s "after peace with Egypt, perhaps," and the party with the most security experts will be the one with the edge.
"Every party will need one."

As a believer in concentrated efforts, Pelled advises political campaigns to use less forms of media and more clear messages. "the kind that enter your mind. The kind with a high level of trust. And don't be afraid of

"No matter what the medium. he says, the message must always be clear. "That's much easier for the opposition to deliver a clear message, as they're free from having to account for their actions.'

Take for example the Likud-Jerusalem" billboards. The short, clear message was a blow, Pelled says, as was the linkage to Peres's name. "Labor should have delivered a quick and direct response," he says. "They didn't and the score is now 1 to 0."

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in terms of the impression it

makes. However, he points out.

it will reach only a certain seg-

ment of the population - those

signs, such as three-sided signs

and their pse in creating mini-

animations, is not a factor in

election campaign ads, says

Use of this most populist of media forms is forbidden in the

Knesset telections, according to

laws limiting sign size, content

and location. Nur says these

laws have been relaxed for other

media "with stronger lobbies

than ours" and says this is dis-

file a complaint with the High

Court. "We were planning to file

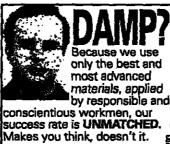
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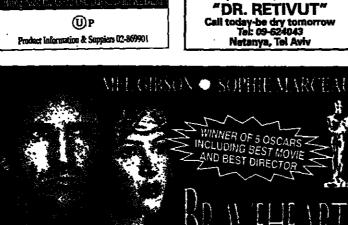
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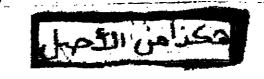
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Ercay March & J'



IDF to leave Hebron later rather than sooner

HIS week Israel was supposed to have handed over most parts of Hebron to the Palestinians, marking the culmination of the end of the interim peace agreement with the PLO. It didn't.

Instead, in the wake of the recent brutal suicide bombings, Israel chose to violate the accords and use Hebron as a card to pressure Yasser Arafat to crack down further on Islamic

Much to the Palestinians' chagrin, and to the relief of the Jews living in Hebron and Kiryat Arba, the IDF remains in control of the Judean town.

No one seems to know when the army will hand over the 90 percent of Hebron it was supposed to have done to the Palestinians.

Hebron mayor Mustafa Natshe says he has turned to the Israeli military governor to find out when the withdrawal will now take place.

"He said all the preparations were completed and he is waiting for the orders. But none have come. It can happen within a few hours," Natshe says.

A few blocks away in Beit Hadassah, Jewish settler spokesman David Wilder finds himself in a similar state of uncertainty.

"They haven't told us anything." he says, still not comprehending how Israel can intend to hand over the City of Abraham to the Palestinians.

"Abandonment of any part of Israel is unimaginable. But the fact that they would leave Hebron would lead to a serious and rapid deterioration of the security situation for us [all]," says Wilder, a spokesman for the 450-member Jewish community in Hebron.

HEBRON WAS to have been the eighth and final West Bank city Israel was to have turned over to the Palestinians under the peace accord. It was saved for last because it is the most complicated.

Considered holy by both Jews and Moslems, the small enclave of settlers, guarded by hundreds of soldiers, lives among over 80,000 Arabs.

Now, Prime Minister Shimon Peres has imposed a list of conditions the Palestinians must fulfill for the IDF's partial with-drawal to go ahead. Israel wants the Palestinians to capture Mohammed Dief, the mastermind of the latest bus bombings, and change the clauses in the Palestinian Covenant calling for Israel's destruction.

A delay for technical reasons is no longer valid since the IDF has already removed much of its equipment from the areas it is to vacate in Hebron and the bypass road is practically com-

In fact, army commanders and defense officials say the IDF redeployment could probably take place in in about six hours once the orders are given.

But defense sources say the troops are likely to remain there at least until after Pessah, during which tens of thousands of Israelis are expected to visit.

"The Israelis are holding Hebron hostage," Natshe says.
"This is a violation of the agreement and it's making the people in the city frustrated and they don't believe that there is a peace process in this area. Since Oslo, nothing has been improved and the situation has only gone from bad to worse."

BUT BEYOND the demands on the Palestinian Authority, Israel's hesitation is equally derived from its own fears that handing over most of Hebron, a hotbed of Hamas activity, to the PA would make it more vulnerable to attacks.

In the race for another term as prime minister, Peres has sidelined his visionary image and appears to have taken up Yitzhak Rabin's "Mr. Security" role. Knowing another terrorist attack could give his Likud rival the edge in this neck-and-neck race, it raises the question of whether Peres will order the withdrawal from Hebron before

the May 29 elections. Foreign Minister Ehud Barak hinted on Wednesday that even the talks on the permanent peace agreement - which are supposed to begin in May might be delayed.

When the blood of our people is spilling in the streets, we cannot negotiate or redeploy in Hebron, or consider the modalities of permanent status negotiations, Barak said.

"We expect the situation about terror to change before we can redeploy in Hebron," he added. Mayor Natshe complains that his town isbeing used as fodder

for the elections. "After the bombings, there is a competition between the Likud and Labor to try and show who is more severe against the Palestinian people to win more votes. They should have been trying to show what kind of peace they will be bringing

instead," Natshe says.

But a freeze on a redeployment is not entirely certain. Depending on how the campaign goes, Peres may want to set facts on the ground in advance of any post-election

And Palestinians argue that having Yasser Arafat's Palestinian police on the ground in Hebron would give him an edge in controlling Islamic militants there.

The Israelis are holding us hostage, says Hebron's mayor, meanwhile tens of thousands of Israelis are expected to visit the town over Pessah, Arieh O'Sullivan reports

As far as the Palestinians are concerned, they see the failure to redeploy in Hebron as further punishment and a broken Israeli promise which will only cause a further erosion of Palestinian support for the peace process.

"We are not prepared to pay the price for Peres's election [win]. They are making a big mistake and the support of the population for the peace process is decreasing daily," says Jamil the Palestinian

Authority's Minister of Civil

Affairs. "Peres said he doesn't need to make any more security preparations to redeploy the Israeli army from Hebron. The decision is his and everyday he stalls, it changes the atmosphere in the West Bank," Tarifi

They are making demands on us to be committed to the agreement and take steps against Hamas, while they themselves are not committed to the

accords," Tarifi says. Mark Heller, a senior research fellow at the Jaffee Center, speculated that the last thing the government wanted was to give the opposition "cheap ammunition" for attacking it in the elec-

"Handing over Hebron and then having an attack from there would be electorally fatal,"

Heller says. Wilder also believes the troops would remain in place

until after the elections. "The fact that he is turning over parts of Israel and giving Hamas a present in Hebron is diametrically opposed to any-thing he says," asserts Wilder.

This MAN represents

A GRAVE DANGER

to ISRAEL.



He has exposed just how much danger Israel's Democracy is in. Because the fact that he is being held in administrative detention means he is being denied "due process." That's the term we Americans use to describe the basic right you as an individual have to know what crimes you've been charged with. So you can defend yourself in a court of law.

Israel's use of administrative detention has been denounced around the world. Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz labeled it "a serious breach of civil liberties." And while the government has defended this policy on the grounds of national security, it is now being used for very different purposes. To

intimidate any and all opposition to the Oslo Accords.

We Americans could never make heads or tails out of Israel's Left or Right. When Likud was in power, they steadfastly protected the freedom of speech of those on the Left. But now that there's a Labor government, those on the Right are silenced, brutalized or worse.

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Playing it safe with Israel

There has been a dramatic rise in the number of Arab **Jerusalemites** applying for Israeli citizenship. Jacob Dallal investigates

n a recent afternoon at a Jerusalem office. George brought refreshments for his Jewish co-workers on the occasion of his having just received Israeli citizenship.

George (not his real name) is not a new immigrant; he is an Arab who has lived in the Jerusalem area all his life. Until about a year ago, like almost every Arab living in Jerusalem. George had a "blue card" which gave him permanentresident status in Israel but not citi-

But with the uncertainty of the future direction the peace process might take - including the status of Jerusalem - and with the handing over of areas around Jerusalem to the Palestinian Authority, George became worned about the future. He decided to be on the safe side

and exercise his right as a Jerusalem resident to apply for Israeli citizenship for himself and his family.

In making this move, George is part of a growing trend: In recent months there has been a dramatic rise in the number of Arab residents of Jerusalem applying for Israeli citizenship.

Many of these people feel that, should things take a turn for the worse under Palestinian rule, they will now be able to turn to Israel for protection. They will be able to continue to work and move freely in Israel, regardless of the situation in the Palestinian areas, and will have the option of moving to live within the Green Line if things become very bad. In addition they will enjoy the benefits of National

Until recently, only a tiny number of Jerusalem Arabs applied for citi-

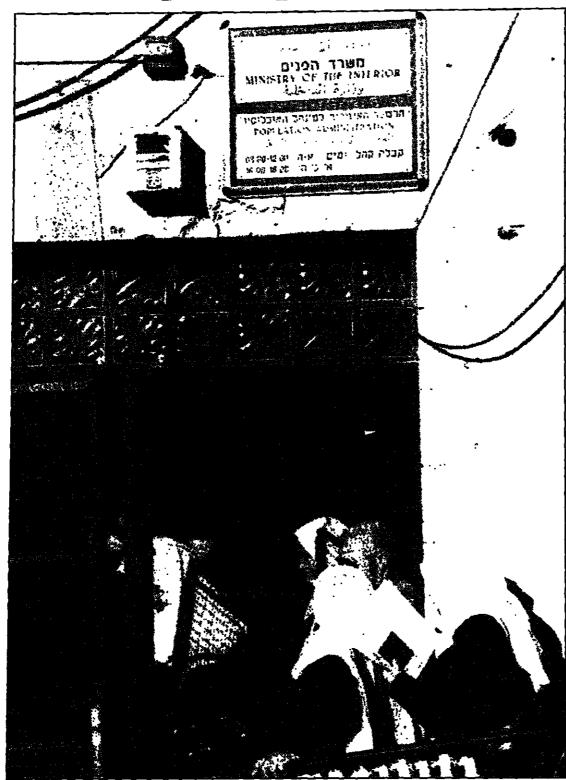
Sunday, March 31

Thursday, April 11

Tuesday, April 16

Sunday, April 21

Tuesday, April 30





Arab residents line up to apply for citizenship at the Ministry of the Interior in east Jerusalem: a translator of documents from Arabic to Hebrew types up a citizenship application outside the min-(Ariel Jerozolimski)

zenship, perhaps several dozen each year. Becoming a citizen of the Jewish state was viewed as traitorous to the Palestinian national

This is happening on the backdrop of the Oslo peace process and it points to lack of confidence among Palestinians about the says Ifrah Zilberman, a researcher at Hebrew University's Truman Institute and a specialist in Jerusalem Arabs.

between 80 and 100 a month.

But in the last two years, the

According to the Ministry of the Interior, in 1994 and 1995, 962 Jerusaiem Arads Were Etanted Ciu zenship, bringing the total number of those with Israeli citizenship to

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1.765, of an estimated 170,000 Arab residents of the city.

number of applicants has risen to But in addition, there is a backlog of 5,000 citizenship applications from Arabs, and most of these requests are from blue-card hold-

There is tremendous overload since the Oslo accord," says spokeswoman Tova Ministry Ellinson.

Today it can take a year to process an application. "It's a bureaucratic problem; we are trybest to speed up cessing," Ellinson says.

"We are talking of an increase of several hundred percent." Zilberman notes, "and it is worrying the Palestinian leadership very much in closed-door discussions."

ALI, 22, was born in Silwan and now lives in Eizariya, a village just outside the city limits, now Area B. He works as a delivery man in neighborhoods Jerusalem.

Two years ago Ali and his brother, who is 24 and works as a refrigerator serviceman, started considering applying for Israeli citizenship. But when Ali's brother asked a local sheikh, he was told that it was forbidden under Islamic law. The brothers dropped the idea for a while, but now Ali says they have decided to go ahead with their applications despite the religious prohibition.

I am afraid the Palestinian Authority will come and confiscate

my blue card. We won't be able to go to work. We will get a Palestinian identity card and we will need permission to enter Jerusalem. With citizenship, it will be easy to come and go."

All wants to apply now. In a month or two the PA will take over administrative control of his village. He says he and his brother will move back to live with their family in Silwan while his application is being processed.

It will also make life easier for All in the city. Some to deliver newspapers and documents to schools and they won't let me in for security reasons. With citizenship, it won't be a problem."

While Ali will go ahead with his application, the religious prohibition and stigma that go with it made his uncle. Salah, drop the idea for good. "I'm secular, so the religious law doesn't bother me. But my family and my wife don't want me to," says Salah, a 33-year-old father

"I also thought it would be good for the children. But then we are afraid of the Palestinian Authority."

RAFI Sutton, a former member of the Israeli intelligence community who worked in eastern Jerusalem, likens taking Israeli citizenship to taking out an insurance policy.

"If the situation changes in Jenusalem these people want to be on the safe side. Everything else, about added rights, are just stories." People who have little connection with the West Bank or work with Jews are more likely to consider citizenship. So too are Christian Arabs, who are concerned about the future under Mosiem-dominated Palestinian Authority.

GEORGE, a Christian Arab, has been working with Jews as a computer systems operator at the same firm since 1969.

"I didn't become an Israeli citizen because [of a] hate [for] the decided it is better to live here in George says part of the reason be

took citizenship was for his children - so that they would be able to live and work in Israel, if they choose. His oldest son is 20 and looking for work.

"If your name is David or George it's hard to find work in a [place with a] Moslem majority. It's a natural thing and true among Jews as well. But with a Jew you can argue and he understands you better."

George lives with his family south of Jerusalem in Beit Jalla. which has recently come under PA control. He says there hasn't been any noticeable difference in day to day life, but he isn't sure if things will remain that way.

"I want to distance myself from this whole autonomy business, I don't believe in it. I don't think there is going to be a real peace,"

George recalls what an Israeli

Arab friend told him about Palestinian independence: "I support the establishment of a Palestinian state but I'm not willing

to live there."
Zilberman, of the Truman Institute, predicts the number of Palestinians applying for citizenship will continue at its present rate for another year.

Then, if things go well for the PA. the numbers will drop; if thing go badly, they will increase.

"If the autonomy goes well, goes badly they'll have another

The trend is important for Israel. says Zilberman, because it strengthens its position

The fact that around 5,000 people - or 2 to 3 percent of Palestinians in Jerusalem - want to be or are Israeli citizens, gives great legitimacy to the stand that there should be no division between East and West Jerusalem."

This trend, coupled with low voter turnout in eastern Jerusalem for the PA elections, shows that not all Palestinian residents there want complete PA control.

"These people like Jerusalem the way it is; they have been exposed to the liberalism and phurality of Israeli society. This supports the position that we should not give up part of the city en bloc to the Palestinians.

"It is a significant card in future negotiations, and I only hope the government realizes this."

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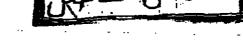
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The March 28 light



Israel held to a 'higher standard'

7HEN challenged to explain why a story about the killing of an Arab by an Israeli Jew commands far more media attention than news of Arabs killing Jews, journalists usually say that they hold Israel to a higher standard.

It may be flattering that stories of Jewish killers are placed in the "man bite dog" category, while murder by Arabs is taken in stride. (Although there is an undercurrent of anti-Arab racism in such a disfunction.) But a study of a terrorist incident in Jerusalem last month raises suspicions that the "higher standard" is merely a variation of the more familiar double standard.

The initial story - "Jews killed an innocent Arab" - became a sensation throughout the world. When the Arab turned out not to be an innocent victim but a terrorist who shad deliberately killed a Jewish woman, the story virtually disappeared.

The incident took place a day after the first Jerusalem bus bombsing. A driver plowed his car into a crowd at the French Hill bus stop in Jetusalem, killing a woman and wounding 22 others. On exiting the car, the driver was shot dead by two armed civilians who had assumed he was a terrorist.

At first, the police announced it was a terrorist incident. Later they changed their minds, calling it an accident which ended with the shooting of the driver.

It was only on the next day, after Ha'aretz reporters revealed that the driver, a Moslem fanatic with an American passport, had praised the suicide bus bombing and told friends he would be "seen on TV by evening." that the police reverted to the original conclusion. Findings at the scene supported this conclusion: The car was found to be in perfect order, and the testimonies of witnesses all agreed that the driver deliberately veered into the crowd and that he came out of the car yelling "Allahu akbar."

The treatment of the stories was illuminating.

The London Times splashed the story across the whole Overseas News page. An overline read Peres blamed for bloodshed as paranoia over suicide attacks grips Jerusalem." The story headline was "Driver dies after fearful Jews fire on skidding car."

The American press treated the incident similarly. Dr. Michael Goldblatt, National Vice President of the Zionist Organization of America, made a study of the press coverage. The following is from his report:

"Most American newspapers gave prominent coverage to the initial story, portraying Israelis as trigger-happy killers, and the Arab as an innocent victim of violent Israeli recklessness. Of 15 major US daily newspapers surveyed by the ZOA, eight put the story on their front pages, and two others

placed it within the first three pages.
"But consider how those same 15 newspapers treated the next day's revelation that the incident was a case of Arab terrorism rather

than Israeli hysteria: only two put it on the front page, and only two others printed it within the first three pages; nine placed the follow-up story farther back, and two failed to print it at all.

"Some American reporters in Jerusalem had plenty to say when the killing could be blamed on Israelis, but seemed tongue-tied when the Arab turned out to be a

"The discrepancy was particu-larly glaring in the Baltimore Sun, which featured the initial story on page one, under the headline Angry Mood Besets Israel,' with the subheadline: 'Arab American Driver Mistaken for Assassin, Killed After Fatal Crash,

"The Sun's correspondent in Israel, Doug Struck, blamed the shooting on 'jittery Israeli civilians' and cited the incident as proof of the 'mood of anger and pessimism [that] settled over Israel' after the terrorist attacks in Jerusalem and Ashkelon.

"Struck authored another frontpage story the next day - but for some reason, he chose not to mention the news that the car crash

was terrorism. That fact was confined to the last four paragraphs of a long Associated Press article

MICHAEL GOLDBLATT and DAVID BAR-ILLAN

way back on page 12 of the Sun.

Similarly, the Boston Globe's correspondent in Israel, Lisa Talesnick, authored a long story about how 'Fear Spurs a Killing in Israel.' But Talesnick was nowhere to be found when it came to the follow-up story; for that, the Globe went to the Reuters news agency, which provided an 18-paragraph story, of which only the last four paragraphs referred to the car crash attack, "Philadelphia Inquirer correspondent Alan Sipress wrote a 22-paragraph story about the first day's news ('Arab Driver's Death a Sign of Tensions, the headlined blared); The Associated Press authored the second, brief report in

the next day's Inquirer. "The New York Post was equally lopsided in its coverage of the two stories. The car crash was the main front-page story, under a banner headline, 'Israel On Edge: Bomb-Weary Israelis Kill Arab-American Driver After Accident,' accompanied by a large photograph of the Arab 'victim.'

The continuation of the story bore the headline 'Crowd Slays Arab-American,' as if the Arab was lynched by an Israeli mob. The next day's story, however, was allotted just three paragraphs

most media refer to the paper without adding politically descriptive adjectives. But some call it in a long article on page seven

"the right-wing Jerusalem Post."
There is nothing wrong with describing the Post editorials as right-wing, although "hawkish," 'conservative" or "anti-Oslo agreement" would be more pre-

What is less acceptable is that leftist papers are never called "left-wing," but "independent" or 'liberal.'

It is this kind of thinking which

obviously animated Teddy Kollek when last Friday he wrote the right-wing opinions (in The Jerusalem Post] that replaced the more moderate and liberal ones deprived readers... of an accurate perspective of Israel... I am happy to read in the *Post* from time to time columns by people such as Abba Eban and Professor Shlomo Avineri, who do not toe the line, but on the whole these articles are a drop in the bucket.

Not being a journalist or a professional researcher, Kollek may be forgiven for letting his impressions dictate unfounded statements. But to say that the Post features only occasional articles by writers on the left of the political spectrum is, to be charitable, a dis-

In the month preceding the filing of his article, that is from February 18 to March 18, 26 opinion articles by writers on the left appeared in the Post These included Abba Eban, Susan Hattis Rolef, David Forman, Mark Heller, Larry Derfner, Allan Shapiro, Daoud Kuttab, A.B. Yehoshua, Chaim Herzog, Alouph Hareven, Misha Louvish. Gaby Sheffer and others.

This was the month, it should be noted, in which six terrorist attacks killed 62 men, women and children and wounded hundreds. It is not a time a "right-wing" paper would normally seek to balance its opinion pages by giving equal

time to doves. It is precisely because the Post wishes its readers not to be deprived of an "accurate perspective of Israel" that it balances its opinion articles so care-

fully. Such balance is in direct contrast with the "liberal" Ha aret: which, like the old Jerusalem Post Kollek so sorely misses, lets "right-wing" opinions appear on average once a veek, as a fig leaf.

It may be a painful thought for those who believe they have a monopoly on righteousness, justice and political sanity, but the fact is that at least half of all Israelis consider themselves right of center. And if any newspapers deprive their readership of an "accurate Israeli perspective" it is those which relegate rightist writers to a tokenist cor-

by DOSH

If Moses had taken a poll

RIGHT FROM the beginning of Jewish national history, the Jews have been a recalcitrant and - for both good and bad - stubborn people. We see this in such epithets as "stiffenecked" (Exodus 32:9 etc.) and "crooked and perverse...wicked and unwise" (Deuteronomy 32:5-

The talmudic Sages see our stiffneckedness as sometimes being a positive trait and a major factor in our survival as a people bearing the One-God's message of a world and a life of law and purpose (Beitza 25b; Shmot Rabba 42:9).

The Torah provides the foundation for these epithets in, inter alia, its account of the Exodus and the 40-year sojourn in the wilderness. The Sages strengthen this foundation in their elaboration of

that account.
All told, it is clear that if Moses had conducted a public-opinion poll or a referendum before undertaking the mission of leading us of Egypt to the Pror Land, we would - as the Haggada tells us - still be slaves in Egypt.

When Moses and Aaron first approach Pharaoh with God's message to "Let My people go so they may celebrate before Me" (Exodus 5:1), the Egyptian despot responds by increasing his Jewish slaves' work load. The people then call down God's judgment on the two for giving Pharaoh an excuse for worsening their lot.

Then there is the midrash on Exodus 13:18, where the Torah states that we left Egypt "hamushim." The plain meaning of this word is that we left Egypt "armed" or "equipped" for the trials that might confront us in what was originally to be a relatively short trek through the wilderness. But h-m-sh, the root of hamushim. also gives us "five," and we read the following four-way discus-

One Sage says it means that only one fifth of the Jews left with Moses. Another says, No - one fiftieth. A third says only one in 500 left. Rabbi Nehora'i, the only discussant named, has the last

"I swear by the Temple Service that not even one in 500 left." The frest died during the three days of darkness (the ninth plague), when people were unable to see each other - all except the Jews

A VIEW FROM NOV MOSHE KOHN

[Exodus 10:23]."

A related midrash tells us that those who died were "scoundrels" who had Egyptian patrons. enjoyed wealth and high status, and had no desire to leave. God decided to punish them, but not publicly, so as not to give the Egyptians cause to gloat. He sent the plague of darkness, during which those scoundrels died and were buried by their brethren without the Egyptians seeing and rejoicing over our disgrace.

(Yerushalmi Shabbat 6:4: Shmot Rabba 14:1 and 20:19; Pesikta d'Ray Kahana 10; Mechilta d'Rabbi Yishmael, "Bo," 12, and "Petihta Beshallah.")

This frightening and still timely midrash may explain why neither the Torah nor any Sage suggests that before leaving Egypt, Moses established a community council. an education bureau and an aliya department for those not ready just then to come home.

Just a bit over a year after leaving Egypt, the year in which we were to enter the Promised Land. there is the episode of the 12 tribal leaders sent to scout out the

Only two, Caleb and Joshua, say we can take the Land. The report of the other 10 is accurate in its facts, but their pessimistic tone consternates the people, who demand that Moses be replaced with a leader who will take us back to Egypt (Numbers 13-14).

Fortunately, that public-opinion poll did not determine the Jewish people's destiny. It resulted in our being kept in the wilderness 40 years, so the slave generation might die out and be succeeded by their freeborn children.

SOMETIMES POLLS do provide us with interesting and even useful information.

A Gallup poll on March 7 found that fewer than 7% of Israeli Jews felt Yasser Arafat was abiding by his obligations under the Oslo accords. The same number believed Israel had exerted "considerable" pressure on Arafat to

Even among respondents who in 1992 voted for Meretz, 71.4% said Arafat wasn't doing enough and 5.7% said he had done nothing. Only 14.3% said the government was applying "considerable" pressure on him, as compared with 8.8% for Labor and 6.3% for Likud.

More than 46% believed Arafat intends his "Palestine" to embrace all of Judea/Samaria/Gaza District, and more than 41% including 11.4% of the Meretz voters - believed his ultimate aim is to embrace the area of Israel as well. The poll was sponsored by the Jerusalem-based IMRA/ Independent Media Review &

THE TANACH, especially in the books of Psalms and Job, tells us in many formulations that God's ways are beyond human ken and therefore beyond criticism by our

For some reason beyond human ken, we mediacrats have sought to arrogate to ourselves this divine privilege of immunity to review and criticism. Fortunately, there are some

iconoclasts who have shown activity is not due to some divine mystery whose logic humanity will fathom in the Endtime, but rather usually reflects our arrogant self-image as successors to the biblical Prophets, combined with our prejudices, our desire to scandalize, and, of course, our bosses' desire to sell many more newspapers. Among the leading media-idol

smashers, along with the above-mentioned IMRA, is the Jerusalem-based Media Watch organization, which has shown the inaccuracy of our government-sponsored electronic media's pretension to giving balanced coverage and their hot denials that they usually favor government or pro-government spokesmen and positions. In its latest monitoring opera-

tion, during February 18-22, Media Watch checked coverage by TV Channels 1 and 2 evening news magazines, Mabai and Hadashot respectively, of the Likud's slogan that "Shimon Peres will divide Jerusalem." Mabat interviewed six govern-

ment spokesmen, who occupied 58% of the time devoted to this issue, and four Likud spokesmen. Hudashot interviewed 12 government spokesmen, who took 70% of the time, and four Likud spokesmen.



about another subject.

"Likewise, USA Today made the

first story page-one news (under the headline 'Arab-American Shot

to Death in Israel'), but buried the

next day's story in five paragraphs

"A number of newspapers ran photographs of the dead Arab dri-

ver, but seemed to run out of film

when it turned out that he was a

terrorist. The New York Times,

New York Post, Philadelphia

Inquirer, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

and Rockland (NY) Journal-News

published photos of the dead Arab

terrorist on the first day - but no

photo about the story on the sec-

ond day."
And the London Times? Its read-

ers had to peruse the next day's

paper carefully to find the follow-

ing reference, which constituted the sum total of the reporting on

the incident: "The future of the

peace process hung in the balance

yesterday as Israel's army Chief of Staff said more Islamic suicide

bombs were expected and police

said that a car accident [sic] on

Monday in which one Israeli was

killed and 23 were hurt was an

"The right-wing Jerusalem Post"

Quoting The Jerusalem Post,

Arah terror attack."

in a different story on page six.





Freedom to change

me add four more.

First, if Pessah is our festival of freedom, what is 'free" about the ready for this night of "freedom everything in time. What's so free

In this connection, it must be noted that the word seder means "order." Even before we start the meal, the Haggada lists the 15 rabbinically-ordained divisions of the night's procedures. From the recitation of kiddush to the last songs in the Haggada, the Seder service can often take several hours, with precise laws relating to when and how much wine is to be drunk, when to wash hands, when and how much matza is to be consumed. What's more, even the length of the meal is regulated. The afikoman - the piece of matza that represents the paschal lamb - must be eaten before midnight. This is freedom?!

Second, when it comes to choos-

all all reserves are accept see Why is this night different from all other nights?

erior de la

IT HURES!

THUS begins what is probably the most famous question in Jewish tradition – the first of the proverbial four questions. Let

way we celebrate? For example, in the US, the Fourth of July is celebrated with fireworks, picnics, barbecues and parades. Contrast this with Pessah, when foods which are kosher all year become forbidden if they contain even the smallest amount of leavening. Just getting requires such stringent preparations that it turns into a mad race to finish about rurning your house upside

SHLOMO RISKIN

ing a text for the retelling of the brate and remember is not merely an

quent freedom, why don't we read one of the many passages in Exodus which deal with the experience? Instead, we are commanded to skin to a passage that farmers recited when they brought their first fruit offering to the Temple: "My ancestor was a wandering Aramean.... (Deut. 26:5)

Isn't it odd that at the beginning of the Haggada, we introduce the subiect of the first-fruit offering, more resonant of Shavuot the festival related to the giving of the Torah, than of Pessah, our Festival of Freedom? Next: Starting on the second night

of Pessah we're commanded to begin counting each day for seven weeks - the cycle which concludes with the Shavuot grain offering. What's the relationship between our longed-for freedom and the counting of days? The last of our four questions: the

Haggada presents us with a prototypical family, including a wicked child. Why is it that specifically on Pessah we engage even the wicked child, and invite him to share our sacred meal? Questions about freedom cannot

be understood without first considering its flip side: slavery. The Holy Zohar, our classic mys-

tical text, connects the word Mitzrayim (Egypt) to metzarim, narrow straits. Thus what we celeescape from the narrow straits of existence under the yoke of the evil instinct, which prevents us from realizing our true human potential. On this night, ancient historical

experiences merge with the personal life of each Jew. Even though slavery has been outlawed in most of the world, we can become slaves in other ways: our bodies enslaved to food or drugs, our minds to TV, or to a way of looking at ourselves which cannot get over events that took place 10, 20 or 40 years ago. If someone constantly dwells on childhood traumas and perceived injustices, then his mind is enslaved to the past.

FROM THIS perspective, freedom is not so much a gift as it is a challenge. Is it any wonder, then, that so many individuals, unable to accept the responsibilities inherent in free choice, choose to let others control their lives? Totalitarianism thrives not only because of fear, but because conforming to the will of a dictator reaps certain benefits: There are no decisions to make, no personal responsibilities to answer for. The Seder teaches us that freedom

is not merely a long vacation, the ability to sleep late after staying up half the night watching a dazzling display of fireworks. True freedom involves the assumption of obligations and responsibilities.

what God wants us to do in this world: to enable human beings to control their minds and appetites; to ethical monotheism (the final songs of Hallel Hagadol). The Seder challenges each parent to convey this ideal to his or her children. We do it within our home, just as in biblical times, when every individual (not only priests) had to be involved in his own paschal sacrifice. Every individual must leave Egypt.

The Seder defines and expresses

Responsibility requires planting, sowing, reaping and recognizing the Source of the bounty. When a farmer gives his first fruits to the Temple, he expresses responsibility and commitment - twin fruits of the biblical understanding of freedom. Once we understand to what

extent responsibility permeates freedom, then time - and our ability to use it effectively - assumes new meaning. We start counting the days because we have to make them count. Choices cease to overwhelm us and begin to challenge us. The preciousness of each day is the abiding lesson of the Pessah Seder. Finally, freedom implies choice,

The wicked child's inclusion at the Seder is a recognition that even though a child may reject everything we believe in, freedom dictates that we allow the freedom of choice, no matter how foolish or destructive that choice may appear in our eyes. For after all is said and done, everyone is free to change!

Shabbat Shalom, and a Happy and Kosher Pessah

the slack from the politicians Let's help take up \$36 Rabbi Yaakov Frankel, San

Francisco, CA. To help the people hurt

in Tel Aviv - Sam Helman, Silverton,

\$25 E.W. and Helen Woodham.

\$10 Debra Childress, Yadkinville, NC.

tother currencies converted into

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NIS 1,963 Bible Lands Museum,

NIS 100 In honor of our great-grand-

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Progress

\$18,537,50

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Totals

\$15 Roy Asper, Winnipeg, Canada.

BEVERLEE BLACK

THILE we all welcome the democratic process - the primaries, the elections on May 29 and the hope that campaign promises will be fulfilled - past experience shows that when it is all over, a great many of our fellow citizens will have fallen through the safety net

and will still be in dire need. That's where the voluntary organizations come in, helping the disabled, the blind and the mentally handicapped or, in our case, the elderly, children in need and new

immigrants. The parties that form the next government will still be faced with the problem of how to divide up the budget pie. But what happens so often in politics - that the strongest will grab all they can and a few crumbs are go to those most in need - can hap-

As Pessah approaches, we ipen again. appeal to all our friends and supporters to do something about those who will be marking the festival, not with a joyful family Seder, but alone or in institutions and desiring a little extra. And remember our Pessah

Handierafts Fair in Jerusalem on Monday, April 8, when we hope to raise funds for neighbors in need. Please send your donations to: The Jerusalem Post Funds, POB 81, Jerusalem 91000.

Donors in the US wishing to receive tax benefits can send their donations to: Friends of The Jerusalem Post Funds, 211 East 43rd Street, New York, NY 10017. Please designate in your letter to which fund you wish to donate.

FORSAKE ME NOT

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NIS 108 18 shekels from each of my great-grandchildren - Jeanne Turkel.

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husband, Mr. Ephraim Kittner - Olga Tchertkoff Kittner, Herzliya, NIS 125 In memory of my beloved husband Colin Benton - Mrs. R. Benton, J'Im.

NIS 120 To celebrate the eighth anniversary of my aliya - Elaine Kallet, ۲'n.

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shekels) WELCOME HOME FUND

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NIS 50 Kathy Parker, Kfar Hess. NIS 30 Aliza Rabinovitz, Rebovot. NIS 10 Kehilat Shalva, Safed. \$54 Mrs. B. Segal, Toms River, NJ. \$50 Roy Asper, Winnipeg, Canada. \$30 Deborah Camiel and Daniel Mogulof, Tel Aviv.

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ON SUNDAY - OUTLOOK DAY IN THE JERUSALEM POST



DON'T MISS: American Outlook: comments

by Alan Dershowitz, Martin Peretz, Evans and Novak and other leading American columnists; and favorite comics: Peanuts, B.C., Feiffer, Caivin

and Hobbes, DON'T MISS IT!

verged on the small seaside resort

near Amsterdam, to take part in

the two grand-master events, the

reserve master group or, for the

eager amateurs, the scores of

round-robins. The tournament has

been sponsored by the Dutch steel

Pea soup and black bread are

served at the closing banquet.

This dates back to the end of

World War II when the open ban-

quet's pea soup brought local res-

idents welcome relief from the

prevalent food shortages. The tra-

dition has been honored ever

Though Alexei Shirov and Boris

Gelfand finished well down the

rable in the top Category 17 tour-

nament, they produced one of the

Shirov, Alexei ~ Gelfand, Boris

Wijk aan Zee 1996

Sicilian Defense, Najdorf

Variation

1.e4 e5 2.Nf3 d6 3.d4 cad4

Nxd4 Nf6 5.Nc3 a6 6.Be3 e6

7.g4 e5. Despite losing a tempo

by moving the e pawn on two suc-

cessive moves, this is still consid-

ered the most aggressive line of

play as it virtually forces White to

8.Nf5 g6 9.g5 gxf5 10.exf5!

Few club players would have hes-

itated to recapture the piece. But if

Black now retreats the knight to

d7, White can unleash a multitude

10...d5 11.gxf6 d4 12.Bc4! Qxf6 13.Nd5 Qc6 14.Bxd4!

Bb4+! Gelfand makes some

breathing space for his cramped

king. 14...exd4 is weak on

account of 15.Qxd4 and 14...Qxc4

is no better because of 15.Nf6+

会量食業

DIAGRAM 1

of nasty threats after 11.Qh5

sacrifice material.

Ke7 16.Bxe5.

15.c3 Qxc4

most exciting games.

Hoogovens for 58 years.

aluminum company

Dutch treat

NICK KOPALOFF

Katz-Yanir lead Israelis in Monaco

MATTHEW GRANOVETTER

South dealer Both sides vulnerable

♥ O 107 West ★ 10 8 7 2 ♦9643

North (Yanir)

♥9652 ♦Q107 ♣K5 **♦**193 ♣ 1032 South (Katz)

♣AQ9764

West North East South 1 ♣ 3 ♣ pass pass 3 NT pass pass 4 NT (all pass)

Opening lead: •2

HE principality of Monaco. where Grace Kelly played opposite Cary Grant in the Monte Carlo setting of Alfred Hitchcock's To Catch a Thief (before she mairied Monaco's Prince Rainier), was the site of the fourth European mixed teams championships last week.

Most card players can usually be found at the blackjack and chemin-de-fer tables of the Royale Casino, but last week the serious card players were at the bridge tables. The mixed-team event was won by the French team of Veronique Bessis. Catherine Saul, Michel Bessis and Paul Chemla. They defeated a German team 73 to 55.

In the second event, a mixed pairs, Austria's Maria Erhart and Fritz Kubak took first place, followed by Poland's Wieslawa Tomaszewska and Mariusz Puczynski. The highest-ranked Israeli pair in the mixed pairs was Tel Aviv's Moshe Katz and Ziva Yanir, who finished 11th. Katz showed his experience on this deal from the team championship earlier in the week. He opened one club on the South hand and Yanir, North, responded one diarrophd.

Katz jump rebid to three clubs and over his partner's three spades bid three notrump. Now Yanir made a move toward slam

with her four-club call. At this point Katz, with no aces outside of clubs, bid four notrump. It wasn't clear whether he meant this as ace asking or as an attempt to play four notrump, but Yanir responded five hearts to show her two aces and Katz bid the slam in

THE REALLY big error in the auction, however, was on East's part. He failed to take advantage of the five-heart call on his right. He could have doubled this bid to let his partner know he held strength in hearts. As you can see. a heart opening lead would defeat the small slam, because East takes his ace and West must come to a trump trick.

But when East failed to double five hearts, West, Sandra Penfold of England, assumed that he preferred another suit. She led a spade and now the ball was in Katz's court.

He won the king of spades, led a diamond to the ace and played three top spades, discarding three hearts from his hand. Next he led the queen of hearts from dummy, East covered with the ace and Katz ruffed, setting up dilmmy's ten. But how would he reach dummy to cash that ten?

One idea was to lead a low club toward the jack and hope that West had started with the king of clubs. If West ducked the club lead without hesitation, declarer could change his plan and put in the eight of clubs in an attempt to finesse West for the ten. In practice, however, West would probably have won her king of clubs and the jack would be the useful

entry to the heart ten. Nevertheless, Katz decided to lead the queen of clubs instead of a low one. His experience told him that most defenders would not be able to resist winning the king of trumps and this was the case. West captured the queen with her king, but now the jack was the entry to dummy.

Had Penfold ducked the queen of clubs, she admitted afterward, she would have defeated Katz in his slam. The ace of clubs would take the next trick, capturing the king, but East's ten of clubs would now be high and eventually the defense would come to a diamond



PASTIMES

A vast array of lovely tulips are in bloom this time of the year.

Tiptoe through the tulips

NATURE

D'VORA BEN SHAUL

buttercup, the turban buttercup.

sometimes called the Asian but-

tercup. In Latin, this flower with very glossy petals is Ramunculus

asiaticus, in Hebrew it's nurn

asia, and it is found all the way

from the North to the Negev hills.

And then, there are the rulips.

The most striking is the mountain

tulip, Tulipa agenensis, known in

Hebrew as tsivonit heharim. It

grows in all the hilly areas of near

the coast and has one very large

red flower with a touch of yellow

at its base. Like all tulips, it is a

tsivonit hamidbar in Hebrew. This

tulip is smaller than the hill tulio

but has a bright red flower, and is

found in the Judean desert and the

northern Negev. In years when there is enough min, this lovely

ATROBUCINE

member of the filly family. Another tulip of note is the desert tulip, Tulipa systola, called

IGHT now there is such a proliferation of wildflow-ers in almost every locality that one cannot even begin to encompass them in a short article; indeed it would take a whole botany book. Fortunately for our English readers there is a handy spiral bound book that shows 300 Israeli wildflowers, each with a color photograph, and it gives not only a brief description including where to find a particular flower but it lists the English, Hebrew and Latin name in every case. It's 300 Israeli Wildflowers by Azaria Alon and it's availablein English or Hebrew. It is highly recommended for anyone who wants to know more about wildflowers.

Despite the abundance of flowers during these spring months, there are, even so, a few that deserve special mention. Now that the bright red anemones or wind flowers (kalanit in Hebrew) are disappearing they are being replaced by the only bright-red

soms in an arid place.

Less often seen, and certainly less well known, is the pink Mount Hermon tulip, a flower found only on the Hermon and in a few places in Lebanon. It is related to the tulips that grow in the Negev. Its petals are a strong pink, it is not as large as hill tulips or desent tulips and its leaves are straight rather than undulating, as are the leaves of the other species. In Latin it is called Tulipa lowner, in Hebrew tsivonit hahermon.

strictly protected.

species barely touch the wealth of season and it's a pleasure that anyone with a wildflower guide book and a few hours to spend can

So now is the time; pack a picnic, take a guide book and let the whole family enjoy what is probadiv me most exquisite se the year no matter where in Israel you happen to live.

tulip creates carpets of red blos-

But these few outstanding

wildflowers to be enjoyed at this enjoy to the fullest.

sation for the exchange. 16...Ba5 17.Nf6+ Ke7 18.Nd5+ Ke8 19.Nf6+ Ke7 20.Bg5! Bc7 THE Hoogevens annual chess festival at Wijk aan Zee is one of Europe's 21.Ne4+?! Qd5!! would have largest chess tournaments. This year more than 1,500 players conbeen the better choice.

21_Ke8 22.Qg4! h5 23.Nf6+ Ke7 24.0-0-0?! Qxg4 25.Nxg4+ Kf8 26.Bh6+ Ke7 27.Bg5+ Kf8 28.Bd8! Bxf5 29.Bxc7 Nc6? 30.Nh6!! Bg6 31.Rd6 Nb4! 32.cxb4 Kg7! 33.b4 Rhc8 34.h5! Rxc7+ 35.Kd2 Hc4 36.Rg1+ Kh1 37.Ke3 Bb7 38.Rgd1 Re8 39.NES. Shirov was well aware that 39.Ng4 was the better move but as his opponent was in chronic time trouble, Shirov laid the

trap.
39_Bc8? Rc4 might have led to a draw since 40 Rd8 would be answered by 40...Re4+, and 40.f3

40.Rd8 Bxf5 41.Rxe8+ Kg7 42.Rxe5 1-0

HERZLIYA'S Purim Chess Tournament in memory of the late IDF pilot Lt. Danny Glazer attracted 23 participants. Idan Levy and Niv Einhorn shared first place, scoring six points from their seven games.

The tournament was rounded off by Dov Zifroni's simultaneous display against 25 opponents. The international master won 23 and drew two. The event was directed by the youthful Shlomo Kendelstein.

THE solution to this week's problem was described by the British Chess magazine as "the most beautiful sacrifice in history." Playing the Black pieces against Levitsky, the great Frank Marshall dumbfounded the chess world with a breathtaking winning combination. Black to play

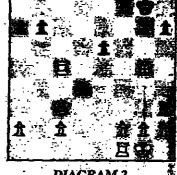


DIAGRAM 2

Solution: L...Qg3!! Although threatening mate on h2, the quech is sent to what seems her most illogical square since she is offered up for capture id any one of three opposing pieces. Blank nonetheless succeeds in completely splitting open the White

2.fxg3, 2.hxg3 loses immediately to 2.Ne2++, while 2.Qxg3 leaves White at least a piece in

Nxg3+ 2...Ne2+ 3.Kh1 Rxf1++

CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

note (4)

25 Bedclothes (9)

29 Dash for the bar (4)

23 Letters for the queen

30 An opportunist with taking ways (5,5)

taking a long time (3)

ACROSS

- 6 City men's car—the new model (10)
- 8 Iron about four or later (4) 9 The object of a fling at the
- 12 Shelter where the French point (3)
- 13 Date some horological
- 16 Allude to the speaker's
- 17 One's restricted by a lack of flavour (7)
- 18 Turkish furniture (7)
- 20 Alarm the female listener

- 11 Port in the bottle (4)
- work (9)
- view (4)

- 21 Creature getting a look-in about mid-January (3-6)
- DOWN 1 Having money in addition
- to real estate (4) 2 Cliff damage (4)
- man backing 3 The rail-transport could be
- sage (4) 4 There's a number in the
- neat ship (7) 5 Work extra hard on account of the family (10)
- 8 Challenge ministers' flannel (4-5) 24 He built an earthwork of 10 Getting to the Orient on foot (3)
 - 13 The novice needs caring

7 Outstanding leftist—a character (3-6)

- support (10)
- 14 3 holds "fixed" races, the rogue! (9)
- 15 Countrymen split about hard game (9)
- 19 Tourist centre with more zest to it? (7) 22 An organisation the West
- browbeat (3) 26 Get Kate to reform (4)
- 27 A nymph among the chosen few (4)
- 28 Dance with staggering outcome (4)

SOLUTIONS



TUDE TOACT EADING EADIN Yesterday's Quick Solution ACROSS: 1 Pastor, 4 Weigh, 8 Obess, 9 Kingdom, 10 Typical, 11 Axle, 12 Let, 14 Less, 15 Rich, 18 Tca, 21 Apex, 23 Censure, 25 Stimuli, 26 Frail, 27 Lithe, 29 DOWN: 1 Pronto, 2 Steeple, 3 Overcest, 4 Wane, 5 Index, 6 Hamper, 7 Skill, 13 Transfix, 16 Courage, 17 Damsel, 19 Acrid, 20 Zealot, 22 Evict, 24 Ruse.

QUICK CROSSWORD DOWN

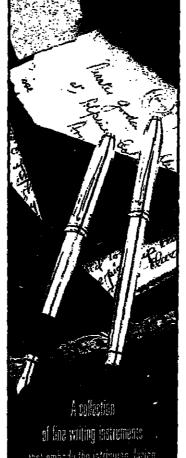
- / ACROSS 1 Wrench (5) 4 Homily (7)
- .10 Frequently (5) 11 Orienta] (7) 13 Consumes (4)
- 15 Ale-house (6) 17 Struggie (6) 20 Norse god (4) 22 Riches (7)
- 24 Aver (5) 26 Shun (5) 27 Fish-tanks (7) 28 Applauded (7) 29 Close-packed (5)
- 1 Series of exercises 2 Rowing crew (5) 3 Coach (7) 4 Start (6) 5 Book of maps (5) 6 Entrance (7)

7 Synthetic fibre (5)

12 Sparkling wine (4)

- 14 Soon (4) 16 Wordy (7) 18 Defective (7) 19 Raise (7) 21 Claim (6) 22 French currency
- 23 Beneath (5)

PEROZ INSPIRED BY AN ERR & HELLORRY STYLL



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These are just a few of the wildflower treasures to be seen from now to the end of April and, in the case of the Mount Hermon tulip, in May. They are worth looking for and a pleasure to view. All are

after Black's 15th move 16.Be3!The best chess moves are not necessarily the most swashbuckling. Here Shirov elects for the quiet retreat, realiz-16.Nb6 17.Oxd4 exd4 18.cxb4 Bxf5! 19 Nxa8 Nd7, Black has compen-







Bath

SECOND !

3 T 16 18 18

A SPAEL!

Learn how to take care of plants – and enjoy the results

reader recently wrote me the following letter, and it Lis worth devoting this colurns to the subject.

"I planted some trees in my vard when I moved in five years ago. They seem to be growing very slowly. I put in a lot of liquid fertilizer and the grass grew very nice and green and thick all around the trees, but the trees did

"Is the fertilizer getting down to the tree roots? Puddles of water are collecting in the grass around the trees when it rains or when I water the garden. Will this hurt the trees? Should I put some deep holes next to the trees and put fertilizer in there? What's wrong with my trees?"

Tree roots do not grow in a mirror image of the branches of the trees. They grow wide and shallow - if you have ever seen a tree which was blown over in a storm, you will recall this. In fact, some especially shallow-rooted trees

may have most of their roots no deeper than 35 centimeters down. Watering and fertilizing deeper is a waste, and in fact may be harmful, causing the fertilizer to

leach down into the groundwater supplies. If your trees are not growing, they are not using the available fertilizer anyway. Fertilizer is not food or energy

growth. It supplies essential nutrients, so when a plant begins to produce new cells (growth), those cells can get the minerals they need for balanced growth. Enough nutrients exist in most

soils to support at least some

growth. Fertilizer supplements the natural growth processes. A plant will grow when it produces more energy than it needs to keep its existing leaves, branches and roots alive - much as people will begin to gain weight when they eat more food than they need

to stay alive. This is obviously more desirable in plants than in people. Plant-growth energy comes only from photosynthesis - the energy which comes from the production of sugars from a balance of sun-

light, water and air. Your plants may be struggling just to maintain life, because they

ON MONDAY -- NYT DAY IN

THE JERUSALEM POST

DON'T MISS:

Eight pages from The New York Times Weekly

Review. Stories, reports, comments, analyses

and opinions by some of the world's best known

journalists.

DON'T MISS IT!

may lack sufficient roots. Perhaps they once had a balance of roots and leaves, but now may be hardpressed to supply enough water

Death of root systems is caused by various ills. Too much watering in an area of insufficient by itself, and doesn't cause runoff may prevent the roots from absorbing oxygen and literally drown the roots, just exactly the way you can kill a potted plant by overwatering. Sometimes, nematodes, moles,

insects, or a virus may attack roots of even an established plant and kill or stunt the roots so that the plant stops growing, turns yellow, stops blooming, or even dies entirely over time. If you want a tree, or other plant, to put out more top growth,

for the manufacture of sugars for

make the environment around the roots more conducive to healthy growth. Loosen the soil around the roots. Don't get rid of the soil. Instead, enrich it with organic material. such as compost, which will improve not only the supply of nutrients, but also drainage and aeration. If you need better

drainage, add sand and some gravel to the existing soil mix. In a worse case, you may want to dig out the tree, if it's not too large, and re-set it in a raised bed. Although digging it up may damage some of the roots, if it's done carefully the benefits will outdo the harm.

While the root system is strug-gling to re-establish itself, help the plant along by judicious pruning. Remember that if the roots have a smaller area to support, they have a better chance to revive. If you prune, you will soon be rewarded by new, healthier and more abundant growth.



Rome's piazzas: A slice of Italian life

CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS

WICE I'd been here. Each time, I came, saw, inspected the Sistine, assessed the Colosseum, entered and ogled the Pantheon and Forum. If it was winter, I bought roasted chestnuts and was reminded that the idea of roasted chestnuts far exceeds the

If it was summer, I ordered Italian ice cream, the reality of which cannot be exceeded. Then it was back to the churches and land-

. But eventually, peering up at one more clock tower or squinting at yet another fresco, a stranger in Rome crosses a threshold.

Suddenly, the most important thing in the Eternal City is not to find where Julius Caesar was stabbed, or name the father of Romulus and Remus, but finding a place to sit still, to rest sore feet. to sip something, to read something, to eavesdrop, to disappear in the shade.

That's what piazzas are for, and Rome must hold more of them than any other city. The smallest of these city squares amount to little more than a confluence of streets, a few parking spaces, a nameplate on a wall, a child chasing a stray soccer ball. The greatest of them dominate a city that once dominated Europe. Yet on both of those previous visits, I passed time in only the most obvious of Rome's hundreds of piaz-

Then the chance to visit Italy arose in June, and I set myself a goal: to search out and soak up a few choice and underappreciated piazzas - places where actual residents of Rome might be found pursuing daily routines, places less celebrated and less trampled than the Piazza Navona, the Piazza San Pietro and other lead-

I would look for theaters of human behavior, for Romans you begin at the foot of the

frowning at their newspapers, haggling over produce, casting furtive (and not so furtive) glances at the opposite sex, narrowly averting motor-scooter collisions, hanging out their wash, hollering at each other from second-story windows. I would permit these piazzas to handle a fair amount of tourist trade, but I hoped it would have more to do with tomatoes or antiques than with Iron Maiden souvenir towels, such as those I passed in the Piazza Navona.

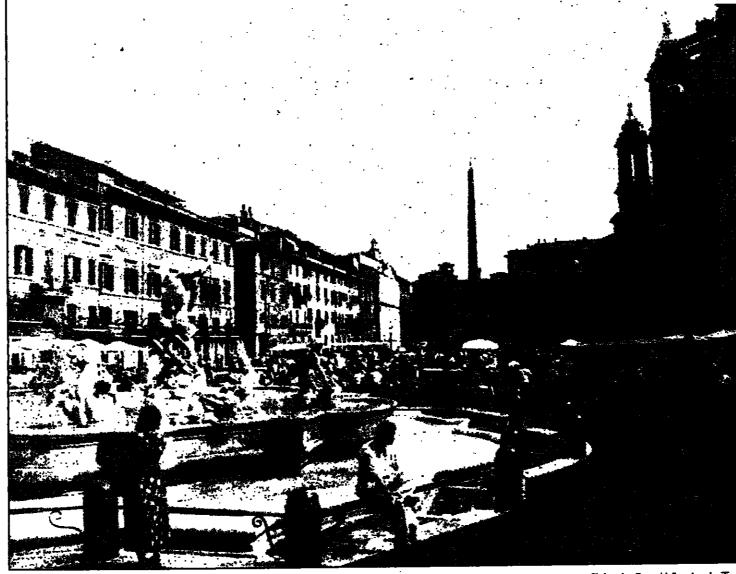
For my base of operations, I chose the Hotel di Teatro Pompeo, four long blocks south of the Piazza Navona (and built upon the ruins of the theater in which Julius Caesar was stabbed

Around the corner lay the Campo de' Fiori, where I spent parts of every day I had in Rome. The rectangle is surrounded by restaurants and shops, and the scene teemed with local people fondling local products. Three flower stalls. One seller had arranged 12 kinds of olive oil.

Another stacked baskets of peppers, oregano, mushrooms, bananas, watermelon and asparagus. On market days they set up about 6 a.m. and start packing up at 1:15 p.m. By 2 p.m., the marketplace has vanished and the restaurants have doubled the size of their sidewalk dining areas.

The stores and restaurants included Ristorante Om Shanti, an affordable place for snacking at an outdoor table and watching the world go by; The Drunken Ship, a young people's bar with post-modern stainless steel furniture and an international clientele, and a high-end butcher and deli shop called Il Fiorentino, with old mosaics on its walls and yuppie customers elbow to elbow.

TO reach the Piazza Borghese.



Piazza Navona is one of Rome's many small city squares.

Spanish Steps, aim southwest and stroll the length of Via Condotti and continue as the street name changes to Via Fontanella Borghese.

There won't be much reward for you if you make this journey in the late afternoon or evening: You'll probably find a newsstand,

a bunch of parked cars and about 15 locked-up, dismal-looking gray metal stalls.

But if you arrive between about 9 a.m. and 1 p.m. on any day but Sunday, those stalls will be open and bulging with rare books, old prints and antiques. Bronze busts. Century-old maps. Dusty old

> ULY may seem like a long time away, but for anyone

> who wants to attend the

Olympic Games in Atlanta this

summer, time is running short. El

Al is planning a series of direct

flights for the games and Ophir

Tours has a special department

with a stock of room reservations and tickets to various events.

leather-bound books.

A few shops surrounding the piazza display still more antiques and various other specialty items. Piazza Santa Maria in Trastevere (which translates as "across the Tiber") was one of the city's poorest slums in the 19th century, and even now a wrong (Christopher Reynolds/Los Angeles Times)

turn can leave you in a marginal neighborhood. But in recent years, restaurants and bars have been; breeding in the narrow streets, and here and there Trastevere can remind you of Paris's Left Bank, with lower rents.

There are still no hotels handy, but if you're near the Piazza

Book now to capture Olympic glory

Navona or Campo de' Fiori, it's no great exertion to walk cross the Tiber on the all-pedestrian Sisto bridge (if you cross by night, pause halfway and look for the distant spotlighted dome of St. Peter's), make your way down narrow Vicolo dei Cinque, and turn left at the smallish Piazza di San Egidio.

If you do this by day, as I did on my first visit to the neighborhood, you pass many locked-up doors - bars and restaurants that will be opening later and filling with local and international students, twenty-somethings and others. (Rome's only English-language movie theater is also in the neighborhood.) But even in the slow hours, the alleys will probably be full of naughty children, flying soccer balls, laundry flap-ping in the breeze, and bent old ladies sitting along the sidewalk in splintered old chairs. At the center of all this lies the Piazza Santa Maria in Trastevere.

On one side, dominating the piazza, stands the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, fronted by sturdy columns, topped by a startling mosaic of a dozen figures against a field of gold.

Art historians say the mosaic, seven or eight centuries old, is a rare surviving example of what many medieval churches looked like before architectural fashions changed. Inside, there is more striking mosaic work, and even more gold.

Around the piazza's periphery stand two restaurants and the more casual Caffe di Marzio. where I spent an hour of my daytime visit nursing an orange juice and people-watching.

When I came back on a Saturday night, the cafe and restaurants were packed, and the whole piazza was vibrant with the sound of strolling guitarists, the cascading fountain and the din from the bars and restaurants down the street. .

(Los Angeles Times)



Prof. Roberto Nardi tells a member of his team how to restore this bathhouse fresco. David Greenspan

Bathhouse restoration: Masada's new attraction

TATIONAL sites used to be closed to the public while they were being restored, but these days the restoration work itself has become part of the attrac-

That's the case with the bathhouse on Masada - one of the most popular places at the country's most popular tourist site.

We want the public and especially the tour guides to understand what we are doing and why we are doing it," says Professor Roberto Nardi, director of the Centro di Archeologica .Conservazione (CCA), the Rome-based company contracted by the National Parks Authority to carry out conservation and restoration work at Masada with the Negev Tourism Administration.

According to National Parks Authority spokesman Ofer Grinstein, Masada receives about 2 imillion visitors a year. And Nardi says that about 3,000 people come to see the ancient bathhouse, originally built by Herod for his guests, every day. From now through June, they will also see the restorers at

During Pessah, thousands of work. tourists are expected to visit the site. When they enter the courtyard of the bathhouse, the first thing they are likely to notice is a giant poster. a photograph of a Canadian forest at sunset, bearing the notice, "Just discovered." The poster is, of course, a joke.

... We chose it because it is the thing most removed from the culHAIM SHAPIRO

tural context of the place that we could think of. We want people to enter with smiles on their faces." Nardi savs.

The poster also serves to cover the metal wall of the on-site headquarters of Nardi and his international team of 10 experts. The team includes members from Spain. France and Turkey, as well as Italy. Nardi has also included four Israelis, employees at Masada, who will remain and ensure that the building is properly maintained.

Nardi has some experience in Israel. Two years ago he was called in to restore the massive Nile mosaic at Sepphoris. That was the first time, he says, that an on-site restoration was conducted without removing the tiles and using traditional materials to replace the foun-

IN THE bathhouse at Masada, this same technique is being used for a simple geometric mosaic in the courtyand. A thin layer of cheesecloth has been glued to the tiles. keeping them in place. Nardi says he would be happy to see Israelis use his techniques to restore other buildings on Masada.

Visitors can see the techniques used by the restorers. Through a perspex window, they can watch Romana Albini of Rome painstakingly restore a fresco on the hathhouse wall. In the next room, they can see Vincenzo Orru, also from

Rome, Jelal Kucuc of Istanbul and Emmanuel Caille of Paris all work-

ing on the inner walls. Pointing to Kueue, who is using a large syringe to insert mortar between the building stones, Nardi says the mortar is similar to that used in the original construction.

"We want to restore the structure as it was, not build a new, stronger building," he says. He adds that concrete was used in reconstruction work carried out 30 years ago, following the massive excavations on Masada. Over the years, it was found that the concrete had a deleterious effect.

Nardi says he uses low-tech procedures in the restoration, combined with high tech in planning and compiling information. The dust at Masada precludes the use of computers on-site, but they are utilized to draw up work schedules and to record thousands of work-inprogress details and photos.

Two on-site archeologists are producing a large-scale (1:20) drawing of the building, including every single stone and every trace of work on the stones. The drawings will serve as historic documents to be used in the future, Nardi says.

In the work on the building, the restorers take care not to take any drastic steps that cannot be undone. Nurdi says he is guided by the realization that the techniques of today may be viewed as mistakes tomor-

"Never do anything you can't ando," he says.

One original option for a truly southern experience is to stay on a riverboat, the Mississippi Queen, represented in Israel by Med Cruises. Inc stay starts at \$546 per person. Another option is a room in a

she has accommodations to suit every taste and budget. For information tel. 001-404-875-0525; or fax 001-404-875-9672. THESE DAYS Walt Disney

private home. Paula Gris of Bed

and Breakfast Atlanta says that

World is not just a matter of having fun. Visitorsof 10 and up now have the option of attending the culinary arts, animation, or lifestyle, along with some of the more traditional Disney-type entertainment. A three-night family package at the institute sold by AREI Travel Wholesalers starts at \$516 each for two adults and \$212 each for two children.

BTC TRAVEL and Tours, a Jerusalem agency which usually specializes in travel for students and young peoples is organizing a seven-night Pessah tour of Egypt to Cairo and by train in Egypt.

MAP LTD. has come out with a new road atlas which includes scenic routes and sites, as well as areas now under Palestinian antonorny. The atlas, in Hebrew or English, comes in two sizes and sells for NIS 64 or NIS 79."

A GOLFING vacation in Turkey, at the Attaleia Club Hotel in Belek, north of Antalya, is being offered by Clal Aviation. Prices, including air fare, start at \$320 for with accommodation in five-star a three-night weekend and \$315 hotels for \$499. Travel is by bus for a four-night midweek stay.

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FEATURES Beauty kings vie for success, travel and world peace

MICHAL YUDELMAN

THE last nights of primaries -Labor on Monday, the Likud, Tuesday - reminded many people of beauty-pageant parodies rather than political events. Yediot Aharonot's columnist Nahum Barnea cailed the candidates "the beauty kings."

The events looked so similar it raised questions of how voters were supposed to spot the differences. Both teams paraded in halls awash in blue-andwhite posters and peace slogans. The same improvised TV studios ran the same broadcast marathons through the

The candidates, from ministerial down to nonentity level, were interviewed nonstop and analyzed by the same babbling pundits. Viewers were left blearyeyed by miles of "home movie" footage - video clips of the contenders' private lives, childhood years and families.

Any elements of surprise, which should have provided the climax to each pageant, in each case came too late. It was already morning before the dark horses who surged to the front of the field became visible near the finishing line - Uzi Baram in Labor and Yitzhak Mordechai in the Likud.

CYRER-FLOP

THE high-tech computer system was billed by the Likud as the star of its primaries. But then, like Apollo 13 in the week's competing Oscar extravaganza, it failed to deliver. All day Likud leader Binyamin Netanyahu extolled the "new era" heralded by his party, and how "the methods of tomorrow" would sweep aside the pens and paper of yesterday's

The Likud's primary results were sup-posed to zoom off the voting superhighway at midnight, just two hours after poll closing.

Bibi revealed that even his mother had been excited by the wonders of high tech and taken to the computer, thanks to the influence of the Likud's 21st-century voting system. In a lightning visit to



The unusually stormy weather that swept through the country this week was an apt backdrop for the whirlwind primary elections.

Crown Prince Hassan, Bibi did not forget to slip in a mention of the Likud's futuristic vision.

Alas, those waiting up for the magic download were still waiting at 1 a.m. Bibi, politicians, and pundits had to continue basing their comments on those rickety old TV polls of the bygone age. As with Labor, the preliminary results

came in the next morning, showing up glaring inaccuracies in the polls, and rendering reams of premature newspaper analyses irrelevant by the time they landed on readers' doormats.

The silicon brains of Deep Blue recently rattled Garry Kasparov over the chessboard, yet here was its cousin failing to count a few Likud voters in time? Of, course it had to be the fault of those two old Israeli scapegoats of yes-

teryear - the rain and Bezeq. But the accusation that soggy Bezeq lines ate the data transmissions to the great nerve center didn't hold water, as it later transpired that Bezeq's lines had worked perfectly. The delay was caused by the Likud's administrative chaos.

So whose vision of the new Middle East era is Deep Blue backing?

OOPS! WRONG IMMIGRANT LABORITES were ecstatic over an unexpected breakthrough - the first Ethiopian Knesset candidate, Adisu Massala, vaulted over two rivals for a new-immigrant slot to land on number

29 in the list. This slot had been reserved for a representative of new immigrants in the hope of minimizing any flow of votes to Natan Sharansky's "Russian" party.

It slowly dawned on party leaders that while Massala was due all credit for his achievement, it was going to be difficult to pass him off as Labor's Russian whatever angle they photographed him. Embarrassing; what Americans call ... "a situation."

Party tacticians put their heads together and came up with an adjustment. Take one other new immigrant - Ronen Flout. number 46 - and upgrade him to a real-

MY KINGDOM FOR A MOROCCAN IF Labor planners thought the ethnic issue could be buried in the past, they

The pundits soon pointed out another

(Brian Hendler)

not enough candidates of Sephardi origin in the first 10 places. Not only not enough Sephardim said the nudniks, but where are bona-fide Moroccans, and don't cite Fuad Ben-Eliezer (Iraq) and Nissim Zvilli

(Tunisia)? It was a case of pass the headache pills as the media went on about the Likud ticket's David Levy and David Magen. compared to Labor's Shirnon Shetreet and Eli Dayan, who might not even make it to a winnable Knesset place.

So began a desperate search for the token Moroccan. Prof. Shlomo Ben-Ami, who everyone agreed would make any Knesset faction proud, will forever be considered as having gotten in by virtue of being Moroccan.

The fact is, Labor's final list includes

THE CASUALTIES THE morning after the party, as balloons and bravado quietly deflated, it was noticed that democracy's rampage had left some wounded warriors in the field. They were the ones who went to bed as Knesset members, and woke up not.

Some had spent their savings on the primaries and woke up unemployed. Others who gave their lives to the party as loyal MKs and ministers just couldn't make it with the voters any more. On the Likud side, there were the casualties of the Likud-Tsomet-Gesher deal.

Both Likud and Labor leaders realized something must be done about the "injured," to prevent a rift in either party. Labor Party secretary general Zvilli planned a round of talks with them. Bibi said they "would remain a part of us."

But in a few days it is doubtful whether they will be remembered. Winner takes it all, that's the name of the game in politics.

WHEELERS AND DEALERS WHILE public democracy ran riot in both camps, behind the scenes there were dark mutterings of dirty deals and horse-trading, and even allegations of bribery and corruption.

In Labor, plots against poll-darling Haim Ramon allegedly confined him to fifth slot and prevented him from finishing in first place or - more importantly ahead of newcomer Ehud Barak.

In the Likud, the infamous deals ma between rival camps pushed Benny Begin and Dan Meridor down from the top of the list, where the polis had pedicted them to land. But all the deal-mongers could have taken lessons from David Levy and his people in the stillborn Gesher, who concocted the "mother of all deals." This one worked to per-fection, too, not partially like the Liked and Labor deals.

SE HINI

REPAK NO TEC

~*: 35

or the state of

Anyone who wasn't part of this deal like Aharon Abuhatzeira, was out. All those who were in on it got elected. These are the six lucky guys whom Lety will be taking with him into safe Knes

Arab woman social worker in line for Labor Knesset seat

GREER FAY CASHMAN

ER burning ambition. Nadia Hilou said a month ago at a reception hosted by the Knesset Committee on the Status of Women, was to be the first Arab woman MK. It looks as if the 37-year-old activist from laffa, with a master's degree in social work and a finger in many other pies, will have ther wish come true. She earned slot No. 37 on the Labor Party candidate list.

AND FOR Taiba Mayor Rafik Haj Yihye, who also emerged from the Labor primaries as a dotenual M.K., inere 18 vet another reason to be merry. The Taiba soccer team is about to be accepted in the National League. These two accomplishments will do much to improve Taiba's image.

IT'S EXCUSABLE that the Betar Jerusalem soccer team plays at Teddy Stadium; but it's somehow insulting to former mayor Teddy Kollek's own political affiliation that the site was the main Jerusalem polling station for the Likud primaries. That was already hitting below the belt.

HE USED to look like a sultry cross between Boy George and the late Freddie Mercury; but as of last week, superstar Aviv Gefen looks anything but. His dark tresses have been subjected to the bottle, and Gefen is now a platinum blond. Meanwhile, Tovele is busy designing wed-

ding dresses from which Gefen's fiancee Ilana Berkovitch will make a final choice. Although the couple have said they will marry in the summer, a date has not been announced.

"IT'S VERY pleasant to be 96, and I recommend it to all of you," sprightly nonagenarian Leah Globe said last week at a birthday kiddush hosted by her daughter and son-in-law Rena and Emanuel Quint. Clear-minded, hawk-eyed, straight-backed and totally independent Globe, whose creative talents include writing and painting, is the only woman published by Soncino. With a new book coming out, she is the oldest writer currently being published by Aronson. Also a fine baker, she insisted on making her own birthday cake for which she used 38 eggs and an abstract floral landscape frosting.

ELECTION FEVER is not the only cause for excitement in the home of Foreign Minister Ehud Barak and his wife, Nava. No matter which party wins, the Baraks have a good reason for some new glad rags. Daughter Michal is planning a May wedding to law student Ziv Lautenberg.

FINANCE MINISTER Avraham Shohat was in a bind on the eve of the primaries. If he didn't sign an order for a price hike on eggs,



American actress Veronica Hamell brightens the day of Dana Mamshon, a victim of a recent Jerusalem bus bombing.

he would have the poultry farmers against him. If he did sign the order, he would have all the housewives preparing for Pessah against him. But Shohat's heart was with the farmers, so he signed, and still managed to do well at the polls.

WHEN HE was living in Russia. his celebrity status was of the negative variety. But former refusenik Natan (Anatoly) Sharansky now

has a new celebrity status with the folks back home. Not only do they regard him in the light of local boy makes good, but according to Dimitri Prokofiev, Israel Radio's man in Moscow, Sharansky's Yisrael Ba'aliya party is perceived in some Russian media reports as the balancing act between Labor and Likud. As for the once suppressed and oppressed Sharansky, he was granted an hour-long interview on

Russian television and the print media are running page-long stories on him.

INCIDENTALLY, on the night of the Likud primaries, Sharansky and his wife Avital took time out for themselves and dined at Rungsit, Jerusalem's popular Japanese-Thai restaurant. Also eating That food that night was prizewinning broadcaster Sheila Zucker, who, due to intolerable

agement, has just quit her program on Jerusalem's regional radio station. Zucker, who was dining with friends and colleagues, said she had so many other offers to consider that she had no time for regrets.

limitations placed on her by man-

WHILE TELEVISION cameras on Monday focused on the Labor at Tira at Kibbutz Ga'ash where they attended the wedding of actor/filmmaker and television personality Yehuda Barkan, who came suitably attired for the occasion in black bow-tie, wing-collared white shirt, natty white jacket with black handkerchief in the breast pocket, and black trousers. Ilana Balisha, his bride and longtime companion, caused a minor sensation when her veil caught fire, but fortunately there was no serious damage. Barkan, who was recently hospitalized for heart trouble, is the star of the new stage production of Zorba the Greek Announcing that this was his last time under the huppa, Barkan evoked memories of the late Richard Burton, who when he married Elizabeth Taylor the second time around declared that there will be no more marriages." The statement was of course premature.

DEPUTY FOREIGN Minister Eli Dayan may have fared badly in the Labor primaries, but he proved that he knows his Labor history better than most. When

television madcap Merav Michaeli held an informal quiz session on Channel 1's Popolitical Dayan, who was already aware of his poor placement at the polls. correctly answered more questions than anyone else.

AT LEAST two American stars of the big and small screen were in Israel this week. One was Oscar primaries, most of the hig names, swinner. Holly Hunter (The premiere of Copycat, and the other was Veronica Hamell, who is best known to local viewers for her performance in Hill Street Blues. Both were guests at the Tel Aviv Hilton, and Hamell made a special trip to Hadassah-University Hospital Jerusalem to visit patients who survived the suicide bomb attacks.

> "YOU PRESENT me with more than language, you present rie with a philosophy of life. Zei gezunt," Israel Prize laureste Father Marcel Dubois said to fellow laureate Prof. Chone Shmeruk at a reception hosted by Hebrew University's Faculty of Humanities. Eight of this year's winners are Hebrew University professors, either emeritus or currently on staff. Dubois, who is being honored for his contribution to state and society, spoke on behalf of all of this year's honorees and said "I feel like a Jewish boy on his bar mitzva who has to thank his teachers and parents." Shmeruk is being honored for his contribution to the promotion and understanding of Yiddish.

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BUSINESS & FIN

: UNITED Mizrahi Bank's profits

scredit portfolio of the London

Tbranch, Victor Medina, general

i manager of the bank, told a press

The bank reported a net profit

of NTS 86.6 million, compared

with a net profit of NIS 103.1m. in

1994. Net return on equity fell to

Mizrahi workers demonstrated

outside the press conference to ex-

press their objections to manage-

ment's plans to fire more than 200

"The workers said their salaries

are at the lower half of the banking

sector's wages," Medina said. "I

said: 'I don't know if this is true,

but I assume you're right,' and

riconference yesterday.

≎6% from 7.7%.

Mizrahi profits drop on London-branch losses

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

eplunged 16 percent in 1995, mainly las a result of large provisions for asked how to push them to the top half? Isn't the solution to raise doubtful debts made in connection with irregularities uncovered in the

Key factors which hindered earnings included a 167.2% increase in provisions for doubtful debts to NIS 195.2m. from NIS 74.3m. The bank made special provisions of NIS 80m. in connection with irregularities uncovered in the third quarter in the credit portfolio of the London

We put in a lot of time and effort into solving the problem," Medina said. "As soon as deviations from the bank's credit procedures were uncovered in August, I immediately sent a team to check the branch. We discovered violations of management regulations, concealment of facts, and

incorrect registration.

"Consequently, we took a number of immediate measures, including dismissal of the branch manager, his deputy, and the number three person. A regional director of the bank in Israel was appointed as branch manager. The

branch has adopted stringent measures to correct these irregularities." Medina said it is impossible to determine whether the bank will have to make additional provisions for doubtful debts in future, since

collection of money due is a lengthy procedure.

The high provisions were also a result of provisions of NIS 19m.

for the moshav sector. Other factors included a 13.9% decline in income, to NIS 456.1m.

from NIS 530.1m., deriving primarily from the continuing effect of the reduction in capital market

"It is true that the decrease in capital market activity has reduced Mizrahi's results," Medina said. "but we do not intend to reduce our share of the market. We plan to expand our income-yielding ac-

The decrease in earnings was partly offset by a 20.4% increase in profit from financing operations before provision for doubtful debts, to NIS 818.3m. from NIS 679.5m.

There was also a 0.6% drop in operating and other expenses, to NIS 824.6m. from NIS 829.9m..

1995 net profits plunged 45% to \$14.8m. from \$26.7m. in 1994. The contribution of held compa-Management blamed the denies increased 111.5% to cline on fierce competition, which NIS 97.1m, from NIS 45.9m. has forced down freight prices, a Bank Tefahot contributed rise in fuel prices, a low foreign NIS 79.8m., up from NIS 67.4m. currency exchange rate, and The growth was also attributed strikes and other port disruptions.

to foreign subsidiaries registering losses in 1994, contrasted with the profits generated in 1995. United Mizzahi Bank & Trust Company (New York) reported a

net profit of \$722,000, compared with a loss of \$4.72m. United Mizrahi Bank (Switzerland) earned a net profit of SF 75,000, compared with a net loss of SF 5.19m.

A FIVE percent devaluation is necessary to help exporters improve earnings, Binyamin Gaon, general manager of the conglomerate Koor Industries, said yesterday.

He emphasized the low foreign currency rate is causing significant damage to exporters profitability. According to Koor's calculations, a 1% devaluation will contribute \$10m. to Koor's annual

Koor reported a 20.5% rise in 1995 net profits, to NIS 490m. from NIS 407m. in 1994. Net return on equity was 24.5%. The company's board of directors decided to distribute annual dividends of

Zim profits down 45%

ZIM Israel Navigation Company

Turnover increased more than

11% to \$1.44b. from \$1.29b. The

tise was mainly due to a rise in the

variety of lines which the company

operates. Operating expenses in-

Fourth quarter net profits were

up to \$6.1m. from \$3.8m., while

turnover increased to \$368.6m. from \$325.9m. Galit Lipkis Beck

creased to \$1.22b. from \$1.07b.

\$21m., equivalent to \$1.5 a share. Net income for the fourth quarter increased to NIS 70m., from NIS 69m.

Koor profits NIS 490m., up 20%

Commenting on the company's results Gaon said the company's core business performed extremely well. "The company's performance was outstanding, and the company's achievement of many milestones during the past year will help drive our growth and globalization plans in 1996 and in the years ahead," he said.

Koor's sales increased 15.3% to NIS 10.2 billion. Gaon emphasized exports increased to \$1.11 billion, up 19.5% in dollar terms.

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NEGLIGENT

(Continued from Page 1) was a substantial flaw in the division head's functioning." the report stated. But, as with Gillon, the commission found that Y.'s resignation after the assassination was enough punishment and no further action was recommended against him.

Dept.-Cmdr. Ya'acov Shoval, the Yarkon District police chief, failed to react properly to the potential threat created by the build-up of a crowd at the northern City Hall parking lot, where Rabin was later shot.

The report noted the VIP Protection Unit failed to specifically instruct Shoval to clear the area. but added he still should have Ellone so at his own initiative. Sho-(val, the only police officer to be ssued a warning letter, should phave a reprimand inserted in his personal file, the commission Tecommended.

L., head of the VIP Protection Unit. "did attempt to improve the service conditions and in-Crease manpower in the unit in peaction to the threat of attack on The prime minister and other govdrument leaders,

However, L. failed to make the apperational improvements in the unit made necessary by this new Ahreat of attack and to convey to the bodyguards under his com-Inand the seriousness of this

On the night of Rabin's death, L did not give specific instructions to police about keeping the Gren where the prime minister twas shot clear of unauthorized persons and did not properly monitor events at the scene, the commission found.

The commission recommended that L., who was temporarily transferred from his post after the assassination, be permanently at least two years.

suspended from the position. It "The lack of such an initiative left open the possibility, however, that he be placed elsewhere in the GSS.

A., head of the VIP Protection Unit's Operations Branch. "should have raised the concern that the changed atmosphere [i.e. threat of attack by a Jewish assailant on the prime minister] neces-According to the commission, sitated a change in deployment.

"The commission accepts that the obligation to reevaluate the method [of VIP security] lay primarily with senior GSS officials. However, in the absence of such an initiative, the issue should have at least arisen in the framework of the unit directly responsible for the matter."

"In light of these findings, the commission recommends that A. not serve in a command capacity in the GSS and that lifting this restriction not be considered for four years."

The commission accepted the argument of S., the head of the VIP Protection Unit force at the rally, that GSS policy at the time did not require him to clear the parking lot where Rabin was

The report also described S. as voung and inexperienced," noting that his superiors had put him in a position for which he was not ready. But it still held him responsible for some of the failures in protecting Rabin the night of

Li particular, it said, S. did not adequately tour the area in advance of the event and did not give clear instructions to the police officers whose help he needed on how to ensure the safety of Rabin and the other VIPs in

The commission recommended that S, not be allowed to hold a command position in the GSS for

SHAMGAR

(Continued from Page 1) protection that the [VIP Protection] unit employed ... They were the most recent [failures], those that occurred the night of the murder, that only added to the basic problems in the method of protection.

"The method that the unit employed ... did not provide adequate security for those being protected. It may not have resulted in previous tragedies ... but that was only because an assailant had never tried to attack the prime minister before."

In bold type, the report then stated, "The first time an assailant tried to shoot the prime minister, the entire system collapsed, and the assailant succeeded."

The commission took issue with Gillon, stating that his assertion that after the Rabin murder, "the method did not change, only the amount of protection increased" was unfounded. "The GSS head called this 'more of the same.' But this description is unacceptable: Closing roads and clearing away crowds is not 'more of the same."

SWEEP

(Continued from Page 1) The IDF coordinated the operation with the Palestinians, so that the Palestinian Police did not try to interfere. Military sources said the IDF waited until the last moment to notify the Palestinians, in order to keep the raid a

At one point, a few hundred students and youths, angry over the arrests, started pelting the Israeli-PLO security liaison office near Ramallah with stones. There were no reports of injuries.

Hebron pullout date passes, Page 22

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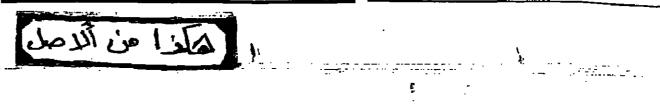
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TASE stable for whole week

TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET



Two-Sided index

ISRAELI stocks closed almost unchanged for the day and week as Maof Index options expired and traders expressed concern yesterday about an inflation report due in two weeks.

The Maof Index fell 0.08 percent to 205.1, while the Two-Sided Index eased 0.18% to 195.26. The Two-Sided Index slipped 0.36% for the week while the Maof eased 0.21%.

"Enough investors had options on the Maof at 205 or 210," leaving them little incentive to push the index higher, said Mark Meiras, analyst at Pacific Mediterranean Securities in Herzliya. "Maybe also some people are

chewing their nails over the next inflation report [for March]. I've heard 1.3% bandied about. I don't think it will be that high," he added.

Consumer price inflation for both January and February was 0.9%.

The stock exchange will trade for only three days in each of the next two weeks because of Pessah.

The three most heavily weighted stocks on the Maof - Bezeq, Koor Industries Ltd., and Teva Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd. fell, dragging down the index. Koor reported fourth-quarter earnings little changed from a year earlier.

Koor Industries was the most active share on the exchange, down 1% as NIS 6.8 million of shares traded.

Bezeq fell 2%, while Teva eased 0.75%.

Across the Tel Aviv stock exchange, about NIS 79.2m. traded, about the average for the month. Three issues fell for every two that rose.

Inflation-adjusted interest rates are now 3-3.5%, with the rate the central bank charges banks for funds at 14%.

"The likelihood of the central bank lowering interest rates is nonexistent, particularly with the devaluation of the shekel," Meiras said.

The shekel weakened today to 3.133 to the US dollar from 3.128 yesterday.

Central banks such as the Bank of Israel use higher rates as a tool in fighting inflation. Higher interest rates deter companies from borrowing for expansion. If companies do borrow, the interest cost eats into profits and potentially stock prices as well.

Additionally , Meiras said, trading during Pessah tends to dry up as many Israelis, investors and non-investors alike, take vacations.

"Sixty million shekels would bea good day" during the holiday, he said.

Looking at Koor subsidiaries.

Makhteshim fell 1.5%; Agan was unchanged; and Tadiran Ltd. eased 0.25%.

Among the banks, First International Bank of Israel was up 0.25% and Bank Hapoalim grew 0.5%. Discount Bank and Bank Leumi were unchanged. Africa-Israel Investments saw

its Series 0.1 shares up 0.25%.

The Clal group of holding companies rose; parent Clal Israel and Clal Industries added 1% each and Clal Electronics rose 0.25%.

Blue Square Properties and Investments Ltd., operator of Co-Op Supermarkets, tacked on 0.25%, while rival Supersol was unchaged. Osem and Elite were

FTSE rises on late news

WORLD MARKET ROUNDUP

LONDON (Reuter) - Late buybid talk helped leading shares re- Virtually all blue chips traded verse earlier losses to finish the day marginally higher. Under pressure throughout the session, a flurry of activity in Cable & Wireless as bid talk bubbled to the surface, helped lift the market mood just ahead of the close. The FTSE 100 finished up 0.2 points at 3,672.6, the day's best, after rebounding from 3,650.0 in early afternoon.

FRANKFURT - Germany's blue-chip DAX index ended trade barely above the crucial 2,500-point level as lower German bonds and a touch of vertigo after Wednesday's record highs forced a correction on the market. The IBIS DAX index of electronically traded shares closed the day at 2,502.94 points, down 20.87 points or 0.83 percent. The DAX had closed bourse trade at 2,508.44, down 16.98 points.

PARIS - Shares closed lower, in line with bonds and other European Bourses, on some disappointment the Bundesbank and Bank of France did not cut their interest rates. The loss also ended a three-day winning streak for the Paris Bourse, which came close to its year-high level on Wednesday. The CAC-40 index closed down 10.54, or 0.52 percent, at 2.019.97.

ZURICH - Shares closed lower, led down by weak bonds and weak stock markets in Germany

and the United States. The broad ing interest spurred by renewed SPI fell 17.09 points to 2,322.76. lower, and dealers said the decline came as investors sought to consolidate recent gains.

TOKYO - Stocks ended easier on profit taking after recent surges, but shares registered on the over-the-counter (OTC) market surged in active business, attracting investors who expect? higher prices after the new fiscal year starts on April 1. The key Nikkei average fell 34.16 points or 0.16 percent to 21,295.82.

HONG KONG - Stocks drifted to a modestly lower close, largely i ignoring the results of various_ blue-chip property groups in the afternoon. The blue-chip Hang Seng Index slid 35.99 points to 1 11,030.58.

SYDNEY - The share market closed lower, driven down by the Dow early but with the fall steepening later as sellers asserted control. The All Ordinaries index was 23.2 points lower at 2,236.5.

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JOHANNESBURG - Shares dropped in fairly quiet trade, hushed by jitters over a Zulu march through Johannesburg which seemed to wind down peacefully and pressured by news that Financial Minister Chris Liebenberg would resign. The Overall index was off 49.1 points at 6,721.5, the Industrial index down 73.9 to 8,239.4 and the Gold index fell 35.7 points to 1,821.8.

Dow drops by over 20 points **WALL STREET REPORT**

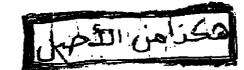
NEW YORK (AP) - The Dow Jones average of industrial stocks was 5606.65, down 20.23 points at 2 p.m. EST yesterday.

Until the US switches its clocks to Daylight Saving Time, the Dow Jones results published in the paper will be from earlier in the day in New York. Trading on the NYSE closes at 4 p.m.

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FFr	0.2980/33	0.1303/04	21.10/15	0.2365/67 Prices tross :	

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Atternoon Mincha 6:30 p.m. March 29:Shacharit 8:30 a.m. Sat., March 30; Mincha 5:50 p.m., Sat. March 30; Mincha Arvit i?Pesah 6:50 p.m. Wednesday April 3;Shacharit 8:30 a.m. Thursday April 4:Mincha 6:50 p.m. Wednesday April

4;Mincha 6:50 p.m. Thursday April 4;Dall

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in the Jawish community in the Old city, mid-19th century - World War II. 6 Or Ha-halm, Jewish Quarter, Old City, Sun.-Thur.

24 or 5, Kirvat Moshe, 523291,

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atrics), ichilov (internal, surgery).

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DUTY HOSPITALS

Friday, March 29

Saturday, March 30

anya: Lantado.

GENERAL ASSISTANCE EMERGENCY **PHARMACIES**

Friday, March 29 Jerusalem: Jatfa Gate, 283898; Balsam, Salah e-Din, 272315; Shuafat, Shuafat Road, 819108; Dar Aldawa, Herod's Gate, 282058.

Tel Aviv: Pe'er Market, 61 Yehuda Hayamit, 682-2973; Bloch, 32 Bloch, 522-Ra'anana-Kfar Sava: Hadarim, Yoseftal, Kiar Sava, 765-2520: Natanya: Hanassi, 36 Welzmann,

Krayot area: Krayot, 1 Hahagana, Kinyat Blalik, 872-1665. Haita: Hanita, 22 Hanita, 823-1905. Herzilya: Clai Pharm, Belt Mericacim, 5 Maskii (crit. Sdero! Hagalim), Herzilya Pituan, 558472, 558407. Open 9 a.m. to mkhight. Upper Nazaretin: Cial Pharm. Lev Ha'ir

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Ra'anana-Kfar Sava: (day) Ctal Pharm, Katznelson, Kiar Sava, 767-7312; (evening) Merkaz Golan, 198 Ahuza, Ra'anana, 774-5762. Netanya: Cial Pharm, 60 Sd. Binyamin, 338091 Krayot area: Superpharm, Hakiryon, 44

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tion in case of potsoning, Eran - Emotional First Aid: Jerusalem 610303, Tel Aviv 5461111 (children/youth 6961113). Halla 8672222, Beetsheba 281128, Netanya 625110, Karmiel 9988410, Kfar Sava 974555, Hadera

340709. Rape Crisis Center (24 hours), Tel Aviv 5234819, 5449191 (men), Jerusalem 255658, Halla 8660111, Eliat 31977. Emergency line for women in distress Sunday-Thursday 24 hrs. a day; Friday 8:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. 09-505720.

Wizo hottines for battered women 02-6514111, 03-5461133 (also in Russian), 07-376310, 06-550506 (also in Amharic). Kupat Hollm Information Center 177-022-1906, Sunday-Thursday, 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. Friday 8 a.m. to 1 p.m.

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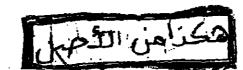
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WJC finds WWII Jewish assets in Swiss banks

Documents reveal unclaimed Jewish property

NEW YORK (Reuter) - The World Jewish Congress, which is involved in a dispute with Swiss banks over the unclaimed assets of Holocaust victims, said yesterday it had uncovered US intelligence files detailing millions of dollars held in Jewish accounts in one Swiss bank alone.

The WJC said it has turned over the previously classified documents from a US post-war probe of Nazi-confiscated funds called "Operation Safehaven" to Senate Banking Committee chairman Alfonse D'Amato, who has said he would hold hearings on the unclaimed assets issue.

A WIC spokesman said a preliminary study of the first six of an estimated 100,000 documents showed that in 1945 one Swiss bank, Societe General de

Surveillance S.A., had 182 mostly Jewish foreign accounts that would be worth \$29 million by today's erandards.

The Swiss Bankers Association said last month that it had uncovered only 775 unclaimed accounts in all the Swiss banks from 1933 to 1945 with a present-day value of \$33 million.

The WIC, which had been negotiating with the banks on returning the assets to heirs and survivors, has called on the Swiss to allow outside auditors to verify the results of their investigation.

The WIC spokesman said D'Amato had written to lawyers for the Swiss Bankers Association asking them to submit proof of what happened to the claims in the Societé General de Surveillance S.A.

New terminal opens at Ben-Gurion Tourism officials bemoan empty hotel rooms

AS officials at Ben-Gurion Airport prepare for record-breaking crowds by opening a new terminal, innkeepers are wringing their hands over the fact that they still have rooms available for Pessah, when they are usually all sold out.

According to the Airports Authority, about 140,000 passengers are due to pass through the Ben-

HAIM SHAPIRO

Gurion Airport today. The passengers include Israelis going abroad for Pessah and foreign visitors arriving for the holiday and for Easter, which also falls next week.

To cope with the continuously increasing numbers, the authority has opened a new terminal, at the

site of the former Arkia terminal. The newly renovated terminal is to continue to serve domestic flights and will also serve as the outgoing terminal for a number of charter flights.

After checking in and receiving their boarding cards, the passengers are to go by shuttle bus to the outgoing passenger hall of the

Sarid: Radioactive waste is stored safely

ENVIRONMENT Minister Yossi Sarid has again rejected claims that radioactive waste stored at the Negev Nuclear Research Center (NRCN) is a danger to the population, the environment, or water reservoirs.

Sarid was responding to recent reports by Egypt and Saudi Arabia regarding a supposed leak from the reactor in Dimona. Sarid also received requests for

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Jerusalem Post Staff

clarification from ambassadors in Israel on behalf of their governments. Sarid noted that the radioac-

tive waste is handled as required, in accordance with strict safety regulations. Moreover, funding has been authorized to store radioactive waste by newer methods taking advantage of the best technology existing today, he

In a statement released yesterday, the Atomic Energy Commission backed up Sarid's claims.

"The waste matter of all types is securely stored in accordance with optimal international criteria. A geological consesseding of "Chemobyl and Hailforth the rock strata prevents and prevents are possibili-

ty of contamination of the under ground water in the area.

"The Ministry of Environment monitors the air, ground, and water of the region surrounding the NRCN. No radioactive contamination, which could potentially endanger the population, has been found," the statement read.

In addition, much of the material stored at the site "loses its radioactivity in a relatively short time (from a few days to a few months), before any damage is caused to the barrel" in which it is stored, according to the

The NRCN is also significantly smaller and better maintained than the nuclear power stations at

Baby born on Yavne highway

A man successfully delivered his fifth child via cellular phone while he, his wife, and other four children were in a car under a Yavne highway bridge on Wednesday night. Magen David Adom workers gave the steel-nerved father instructions over the phone and then arrived to cut

the umbilical cord and wrap the healthy baby girl in a sterile sheet. "What should I do, the baby's head is already visible," said the father over the car phone to Yossi Levy, who was on duty at MDA's Ayalon branch in Rishon Lezion.

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Magic puts on show for former coach

MIAMI (Reuter) - It must have seemed like old times for Pat Riley - that is, until he remembered he was coaching the other team. Magic Johnson put on a show for his former coach, scoring 27 points, pulling down nine rebounds and dishing out nine assists to lead the Los Angeles Lakers to a 106-95 victory over the Miami Heat on Wednesday. Johnson, who under Riley took the Lakers to four NBA championships over seven seasons in the 1980s, faced his former coach for

the first time as a player.

He was 15-of-15 from the free throw line and scored 14 points in the fourth quarter to stem a rally by the Heat. They brought me out of my retirement to do the things I'm doing in the fourth quarter when the game is on the line," Johnson said.

"He's just head and shoulders ahead of anybody else on the court when it comes to smarts," said Riley, who has not won a title since leaving the Lakers - and Johnson - in 1990. "Pat is like my father and a big brother and you always want to

impress your father and big brother," Johnson said. Nick Van Exel scored 21 points and Vlade Divac added 16 and

12 rebounds for the Lakers. Alonzo Mourning had 19 points and 15 rebounds for Miami, but made just 3-of-13 foul shots before fouling out. Tim Hardaway added 19 points and 13 assists for the Heat, who are tied with Charlotte for the eighth and final playoff spot in the Eastern Conference.

Spurs 90, Knicks 84

The red hot hosts ran their winning streak to a franchise record-tying 15 games with a 90-84 triumph over New York. David Robinson had 21 points and 13 rebounds, Sean Elliott added 18 points and Avery Johnson 17 as all five Spurs starters scored in double figures. Robinson's jumper with 5:55 to play snapped a 76-76 tie and the Spurs never again trailed. Patrick Ewing scored 20 points and

which was trying to complete a sweep of the "Texas Triangle" after winning at Dallas and Houston.

Pacers 99, Bullets 93 Reggie Miller scored 11 of his 35 points in the final 3:34 to lead visiting Indiana. The win snapped a three-game road losing streak for the Pacers, who increased their lead to two games over New York for thirdplace in the Eastern Conference. Rik Smits had 27 points for Indiana on 12-of-18 shooting from the field. 76ers 103, Raptors 94

Clarence Weatherspoon scored 28 points and Jerry Stackhouse added 26 as host Philadelphia snapped and 27 as host eight-game losing streak. Zan Tabak recorded a career-high 26 points and 11 rebounds for Toronto, which has dropped 17 of its last 21 contests. of

dropped 17 of its last 21 contests. of their starters, including Hakeem Olajuwon. Clyde Drexler and Robert Horry, sidelined by injury. Wednesday's games: Philadelphia 103, Toronto 94; Indiana 99, Washington 93; LA Lakers 106, Miami 95; San Antonio 90, New York 84; Boston 121, Minnesota 116; Dallas 117, Houston 114; Utah 98, Milwaukee 82: Seattle 132. Charlotte

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Minnesota	23	46	.333	28
Dallas	22	48	.314	29.5
Vancouver	11	56	.164	39
Pacific Division				
"-Seattle	55 42	15 25	.786 632	44

Maccabi Haifa tries to keep in title chase

THERE is no single major soccer clash in this weekend's National League fixtures list, with the two top sides taking on seemingly easy opposition as they strive to keep ahead of the rest of the field. With the battle for the title now effectively a two-horse race following Maccabi Haifa's 3-0 demolition of Betar Jerusalem in the capital last Saturday, all eyes and ears will concentrate on the matches at Herzliya where leaders Maccabi Tel Aviv play Maccabi Herzliya, and on Kiryat Eliezer, where second-place Maccabi Haifa hosts strugglers Hapoel Beit She'an. Maccabi has a five-point lead at the top and will not be expecting too much trouble from Herzliya. An upset, however, could change the situa-tion dramatically, and Maccabi Haifa, which begins its match against Hapoel Beit She'an

slightly later, will be keeping an

watchful eve out for the score at

ORI LEWIS

Herzliya. Both Beit She'an and Haifa will both be going all out for a win, a draw will not do either much good under the circum-

The visitors will be feeling confident for their own reasons: In the corresponding fixture last season, the Beit She'anis came to Haifa and won 3-2 on the last weekend of the season to keep their place in the top flight. Haifa, for its part, will not want

to allow the Tel Avivians to ease further ahead in the standings, as even a five-point gap at this stage of the season, with only six rounds of action remaining, is almost impossible to bridge, even for a club of Maccabi Haifa's stature. Elsewhere, many clubs will attempt to secure all three points as the drop to the Second Division comes ever closer. Hapoel Beersheba and Bnei

Yehuda will be an interesting, if uninspiring fixture in the Negev while Hapoel Tel Aviv will be looking to hammer out another win against easy opposition when they take on Betar Tel Aviv.

This weekend's National League fixtures (all matches begin tomorrow at 16:00 unless stated, 1st-round results in paren-

Ironi Rishon Lezion vs. Hapoel Petah Tikva, Rishon (0-2); Zafririm Holon vs. Jerusalem, Herzliya 18:00 (0-1); Maccabi Haifa vs. Hapoel Beit She'an, Kiryat Eliezer (6-0); Hapoel Tel Aviv vs. Betar Tel Aviv, Bloomfield (2-0); Maccabi Herzliya vs. Maccabi Tel Aviv, Herzliya 15:30 (0-1); Hapoel Beersheba vs. Bnei Yehuda, Beersheba (0-1); Maccabi Jaffa vs. Hapoel Haifa, Gaon Stadium, today 16:00 (0-4); Maccabi Petah Tikva vs. Hapoel Kfar Sava, Petah Tikva (3-0).

Marquis matchup highlights Final Four weekend

THIS year's Final Four is a game of twos. Two favorites, two underdogs; two No. I seeds, two lower seeds; two tradition-rich clubs, two teams often not identified with college hoops; two eastern squads, two SEC clubs.

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27 24 FW 725

Ta berta Tra

And the team that wins its next two games will be crowned 1996 NCAA basketball champ

The marquee matchup - the one that on paper should decide the champion - features No. 1 seeds Massachusetts against Kentucky. Both teams were rated highly in pre-season, both were ranked No. 1 in the polls at vari- ous times throughout the year, , and both were expected to be playing this weekend at the Meadowlands.

Neither team had a difficult time in the regional finals - the Atlantic 10's UMass downed Georgetown in the East, while 5.. the SEC's Kentucky + continuing its dominating play sincusahe tournament began - whipped Utah in the Midwest.

UMass, in the Final Four for the first time, is led by Marcus Camby, the top center in the country and possibly the No. draft pick in the upcoming NBA draft. But the Minutemen's cast of stars does not end there, with forwards Dana Dingle and the team's unsung hero Donta Bright, and a pair of unspectacular, yet solid guards in Edgar Padilla and Carmelo Travieso. If Camby gets into foul trouble, Coach John Calipari can turn to Tyrone Weeks, who fills in admirably for the All-American. As for the rest of the bench we've seen better, namely that of the Wildcats.

Kentucky, which basn't won an NCAA championship for 18 years, fields 10 top-notch players, but unfortunately. Coach Rick Pitino can only put five on the court at a time.

His major challenge this year has been finding the right chemistry among some of the country's best athletes, all of whom want to play all of the time. I'm sure plenty of coaches would love to have such problems.

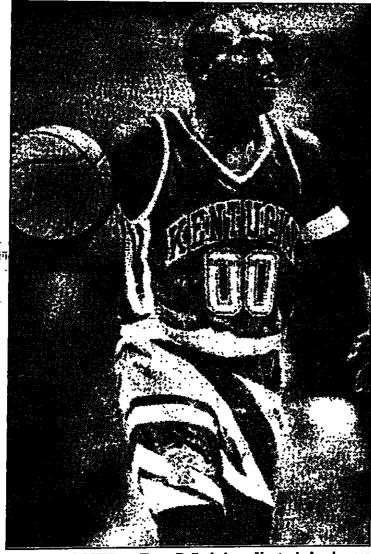
The team is led by long-dis-tance sharpshooter Tony Delk and forward Antoine Walker. who's one year away from real stardom. Center Mark Pope, guard Anthony Epps, and for-ward Walter McCarty round out

the starting five.
With the Wildcats' depth, Pitino's famous pressing defense and uptempo offense are a perfect match for the nearly perfect

But nearly perfect won't be good enough this weekend

ELIOT ZIMELMAN

against the Minutemen, who George Washington) from a perwere one loss away (against fect season. UMass defeated



SHARPSHOOTER - Tony Delk brings Kentucky's chances unjustifiably seeded a low No. 5

Final Four on TV

ARYEH DEAN COHEN

BASKETBALL fans are urged to make sure they get their Shabbat nap this week - coverage of the NCAA's Final Four tournament from the Meadowlands begins in the wee hours of Sunday morning, and they won't want to miss it.

Prime Sports is showing the two semifinal games live, with Syracuse facing Mississippi State in the opener, to be aired at about 1:30 am. our time. Following is the Kentucky-UMass game (and not at 11:30 pm., as listed in today's *Time Out*). Super Channel will be running the games live as well beginning at 2 am.

For those unable to keep their eyes open at that hour, Sports Channel is offering a replay on Sunday at 10 pm. and at 4 pm. and 11:30 pm. Monday, but nothing beats seeing it live.

The Big One, the NCAA Final, is on Prime Sport Tuesday at 5 am., or Super Channel at 4:30. Try telling your boss you couldn't come in Tuesday because you hurt your back cleaning for Pessah. If he's not buying it, you can always catch the repeat broadcast on Sports Channel at 11:30 pm. Tuesday, or at 9 am. Wednesday.

Kentucky earlier in the year by 10 points, and with both teams at the top of their game, there's no reason to think it won't happen

In Saturday's opening game, Big East rep Syracuse takes on the second SEC member of the Final Four, Mississippi State. This is the second time in three years that the SEC has had two entries in college basketball's final weekend, and the league is only now being recognized as America's best.

The Orangemen, seeded fourth in the West, are led by power forward John Wallace, who almost went hardship last year. Instead, he chose to work on his perimeter game and nearly singlehandedly carried his teammates all year, including hitting a threepointer at the buzzer to defeat Georgia in the West's semis. Now that Wallace is a sure-fire lottery pick in the upcoming draft, the decision to return for his senior year appears very Syracuse's problem, however,

is everything besides Wallace. Big man Otis Hill, who led the Orange against Kansas in the West finals, sometimes forms a dominating duo with Wallace under the boards, but is often plagued by foul trouble. The rest of the starting five, forward Todd Burgan and guards Jason Cipolla and Lazarus Sims, are turnover prone and highly inconsistent. Jim Boeheim's club, which often underachieves (remember the Orangemen's loss to Indiana in the 1987 finals) has gotten this far due to a scrappy defense, and they'll need plenty more of that against the Bulldogs.

Mississippi State, which was in the Southeast, has been a team on a mission since defeating Kentucky in the SEC tournament

The team is led by center Erick Dampier and superb JUCO transfer, forward Dontae Jones. The squad also sports a solid backcourt in Marcus Bullard and Darryl Wilson, and the starting five is rounded out by forward Russell Walters.

The Jones-Wallace matchup should be the highlight of this game, but with each star canceling the other, the game will probably come down to the teams' supporting casts, where Mississippi State has the upper

Look for the Bulldogs to edge the Orangemen in a defensive And look for another prediction early next week.

Israel cruises into Fed Cup playoff stage

ISRAEL'S women scored their third consecutive victory and secured a playoff berth in the Federation Cup Euro/African Zone Group II tennis event at Ramat Hasharon yesterday.

All four of Israel's women took part in the tie against Macedonia and they lost nine games between them in an easy victory over the former Yugoslav province. No. 1 Anna Smashnova, making her first appearance in the competition beat her opposite number Marina Lazarovska 6-1, 6-1, Hila Rosen defeated Irena Mihailova 6-2, 6-0 and Israel's doubles pairing of Natalie Cahana and Tsipi Obziler easily disposed of 6-3, 6-2. The win assures the host nation, seeded fourth, of a place in the playoff stage of the competition tomorrow and a win there will see Israel advance to the Euro/African Zone Group I.

Israel's opponents today are Luxembourg. In other ties, top-seeded Poland repeated its demolition job of the lowly opposition again yesterday and for the second time on consecutive days, conceded only one game in its tie against Ethiopia. With scorelines of 6-1, 6-0; 6-0, 6-0 and 6-0, 6-0, the Poles must be starting to think they are superhuman. Today Poland has the day off and its players will have a chance to reflect on their achievement, which is remarkable regardless of the weakness of the opposition. Yesterday's other results: Group A: Lithuania beat Botswana 3-0. Group B: Turkey beat Cyprus 3-0, 3-Finland beat Liechtenstein 3-0. Group C: Estonia beat Zimbabwe 3-0. Group D: 2-Ukraine beat Iceland 3-0, Ireland beat Malta 3-0.

The opening ceremony, delayed by rain, is scheduled to take place today at 11 am. at the Israel Tennis Center at Ramat Hasharon.

Bruguera won't play against Israel **Davis Cuppers**

THE LOCAL SCENE

HEATHER CHAIT

SERGEI Bruguera has pulled out of next weekend's Davis Cup tie against Israel at Ramat Hasharon but the Spaniards are not holding their heads in despair.

Alberto and Carlos Costa, not related, 16 and 30 respectively in the world rankings, will be the key players with Alex Corretja (68) and Emilio Sanchez (101) lending a hand.

Bruguera asked to be released, pleading that mentally and physically, he is not at his best right

Israel TV will broadcast the matches live, beginning at 2 pm. Yael's silver warm-up

Yael Arad is shaping up for Atlanta in a big way. Competing in the Italian Open in Rome, Arad (61kg) won the silver medal, losing to the Netherlands' Jenny Gal in the final on a judge's decision. Arad has been plagued with injuries and defeats recently but this result, which included three ippons and wins over Swiss, Hungarian, German and Polish judokas, should lift her back on her

feet again. Arik Ze'evi (86kg) and Amit Leng

(60kg) each fought their way to fifth places in the same contest. Four golds at disabled tourney

Yugav Kenzi, from ILAN (Israel Sports Center for the Disabled in Ramat Gan), picked up four gold medals at the South African Open Championships for the Disabled in Pretoria. Kenzi won the 100-, 200and 400m races and also clinched the long jump event.

Shooting straight More gold as archer Yaron Kolesnik won the Students World Championship in Lyons, France, setting a new students world record of 117 points out of a possible 120. Kolesnik's participation in the

Olympics is not yet certain, but if twothirds of the archers from the Lyons event are going to Atlanta, his result will be accepted as the Olympic criterion. If not, he can still catch up at next month's pre-Olympic tourns in Atlanta.

A first for Yagur Hapoel Yagur's men's table tennis team won its first ever title this week, beating Hapoel Lod 3-0 in the State Cup final. Dima Avramanko and Yuri Yarmoliev were responsible for

the success story.

Betar Micha Rishon Lezion's women took the honors against Hapoel Nazareth Elite in the women's

Bowls Fours in double loss **NORMAN SPIRO** ADELAIDE

ISRAEL'S chances of finishing in the top eight of the quadrennial World Bowls championship, which would guarantee them a slot in the next tournament, looked dimmer when the Fours lost to the US 18-16 and to Wales 28-22 in Section D matches yesterday.

In the overall final standings of the Fours, Israel ranked ninth, three points above Hong Kong and five adrift of Canada. In the medals playoff in the

Fours, England takes on New Zealand and Australia faces

Today, Jeff Rabkin plays Canada and Hong Kong in the sin-

In other Fours action yesterday, (Section A) Ireland beat Australia 27-17 and Malawi 48-10; (Section B) Canada drew with Norfolk Island 19-19; (Section C) England beat South Africa 25-21 and Swaziland 42-6, Guernsey beat South Africa 18-17: (Section D) Wales beat Argentina 19-15. Western Samoa beat Fiji 20-19, US beat Israel 18-16, Fiji beat Zambia: 40-10. Wales beat Israel 28-22. US beat Argentina 24-16.

Bronze for Israeli wrestler

ISRAELI Gucca Chichiashvili took the bronze medal in the European Greco-Roman wrestling championships in Budapest yesterday. Chichiashvili beat Tuomo Karila of Finland 2-0 in the 82 kg category.

Peter Farkas from Hungary won the gold defeating Turkey's Hanza Yerlikaya. Post Sports Staff

Ferdinand wins for England

LONDON (Reuter) - European championship hosts England dominated the first half and gave a gritty performance in the second to deservedly beat fellow finalists Bulgaria 1-0 in a friendly international at Wembley on Wednesday.

The only goal of an absorbing match watched by a disappointing crowd of 29,000 came after seven minutes when Les Ferdinand chested down a superb 30-meter pass from man-of-the match Teddy Sheringham to fire past Bulgarian captain and goalkeeper Borislav Mihailov, winning his 91st cap.

Bulgaria did have the ball in the net 20 seconds from time but the goal was disallowed after substitute Daniel Borimirov was adjudged to have handled before Emil Kostadinov scored.

Bulgaria waswithout their star player Hristo Stoichkov who aggravated a back muscle in training on Tuesday.

SCOREBOARD

NHL – Wednesday's games: Boston 6, Hartford 5 (OT); Philadelphia 4, Ottawa 2; Washington 1, Montreal 0 (OT): NY Rangers 3, Florida 0; Detroit 4, Buffalo 2Winnipeg 3, Colorado 1; Calgary 1, Chicago 0; Los Angeles 3, Edmouton 3; Torouto 6,

Tony Tarasco as an extra outfield-Huskey, once out of favor with the After losing Roberto Alomar to season and hit five home runs in er this month, are looking for a Mets because of weight problems, shopping, and both teams have free agency. Toronto gets another NEW YORK (AP) - Never mind 103 at-bats. He'll start in left hit a ton in spring training and may have earned a job in right been looking toward Seattle where smooth Felix Fermin is backup catcher. Toronto's Randy the pressure of hoping to impress switch-hitter from the minors. field, having beaten out once-Knorr is a possibility. Gold Good hitter with power at Triple-Tom Lasorda or trying to fit into a lineup that won the NL West last promising Billy Ashley, and will Glover Tom Pagnozzi of St. Louis field. Hosey has done most everyavailable. A, but needs defensive improvetry to extend the Dodgers' rookie thing right in the minors and is Fermin, a one-time starter and might also be available, at a highnow a backup on the Mariners. streak to five in a row. Shortstop: Derek Jeter and Rey finally getting a chance at 28 to A look at other top rookies on play center for Boston. Young is can play either shortstop or sec-Ordonez. The best two shortstop ready at 26 after developing ond base. The Yankees want the rise as the season starts: prospects play in New York. Jeter, someone at second while

No, the real pressure on Todd Hollandsworth may come from

the past. After all, it'll probably be up to him to keep alive the Los Angeles Dodgers' streak of producing the NL rookie of the year as the Major League season starts on Sunday.

The Dodgers have turned out the last four, those being Eric Karros, Mike Piazza, Raul Mondesi and Hideo Nomo. No teem has had more - in fact., it's called the Jackie Robinson Award in honor of the Dodgers player who won the first award in 1947.

Bollandsworth, 23 in April, made his major league debut last

Catcher: Jason Kendall. The son of former big league catcher Fred Kendall, this Pittsburgh prospect is trying to make the jump from Double-A to the majors at age 21. He was the Southern League MVP last sea-

First Base: Tony Clark. The 6foot-7 former college basketball player is hoping Detroit will make someday make a spot for him by moving Cecil Fielder to DH. A power hitter who strikes out a lot. Second Base: Felipe Crespo.

at 21, hits line drives, shows a strong arm and has strong All-Star potential for the Yankees. Ordonez, at 23, will be the majors funciest fielder if his bat keeps him with the Mets.

Third Base: Ron Coumer. Another power product of the Dodgers' system, was traded to Minnesota in a deal for Kevin Tapani. Could end up at first base tor Twins. Outfield: Butch Huskey,

Dwayne Hosey, Ernie Young,

power in Oakland system. Pitchers: Jason Schmidt, Paul

Wilson, Alan Benes, Terry Adams. Schmidt is said to be set at 23 to become Atlanta's No. 5 starter. Wilson, a former No. 1 Mets' draft pick, led minor leagues in strikeouts last season. Benes is one of three brothers in St. Louis system. Adams being groomed as Cubs closer.

Spring Shuffling Injuries to Tony Fernandez and Benji Gil have the Yankees and

Can Dodgers take 5th straight rookie award? Texas Rangers doing some late

Fernandez is sidelined and Pat Kelly is recovering, and perhaps would want to send odd-man-out pitcher Scott Kamieniecki to Seattle. But the Mariners may not want to take on his \$1 millionplus salary.

The Rangers need a shortstop after losing Gil, although they signed infielders Jeff Frye and Spike Owen to minor league contracts this week.

The Orioles, after picking up



ON TUESDAY - SPORTS DAY IN THE JERUSALEM

POST Full coverage of all the baseball teams and all the latest NBA, British soccer

and college basketball news. in the 12-page supplement, The World of Sport. DON'T MISS IT!

Peace Watch: Hebron pullout, covenant change not linked

THE Oslo 2 Accords do not link the IDF's pullout from Hebron, which had been scheduled for yesterday, with the amending of the Palestinian Covenant, Peace Watch, an independent monitor of the peace process, said yesterday in a legal opinion.

The pullout has been postponed for an undefined period until the Palestinian Authority sufficiently tightens measures against terrorism. However, Peace Watch said Israel cannot justify delaying the pullout on grounds that the Palestine National Council has not amended the covenant, nor can the PLO justify delaying the amending of the covenant because the IDF did not pull out of Hebron yesterday

According to Peace Watch, the accords do not link the obligations, and the linkage is illogical chronologically since the PLO cannot be in violation of its obligation to change the covenant unill May 7, two months after the inauguration of the elected Palestinian Council.

WATERMELON

LIAT COLLINS and Jerusalem Post Staff

added that the PLO cannot use the IDF's failure to withdraw as a legal basis for delaying the amending of the covenant, since the obligation to do so was set for two months after the convening of the council, whose date was not even set in the accords, while the pullout was to be six months after the signing of Oslo 2

Peace Watch noted that had PA President Yasser Arafat called for the elections to be held in mid-January and inaugurated the council immediately thereafter, the deadline for amending the covenant would have been mid-March, before the scheduled withdrawal.

Meanwhile, the IDF stepped up its military presence in the town yesterday, residents said.

"We in Hebron feel sad because we were expecting the departure of Israeli occupation forces today and we see it is not happening, said Mayor Mustafa Natshe.

Members of the PNC Council

clare March 28 a day of Palestinian identification with Hebron. After a meeting with Hebron notables, the council members issued a handbill attacking Israeli policy and stating that delaying the IDF withdrawal from the city was a dangerous step that exposed Israel's plot to go back on the Oslo accords and continue its settlement policy and land expropriation in the city.

National Religions Party leader Zevulun Hammer said yesterday an IDF withdrawal from Hebron would create a serious security threat. "The government is apparently relying on a short collective memory and underestimates the level of intelligence and comprehension of the Israeli public as [government] emissaries are racing to reopen the campaign preparing the ground and public opinion for a hasty IDF withdrawal from Hebron," Ham-

Hammer accused the government of not sticking to even the basic positions which it had itself determined as critical to the security of the State.

Five hundred Russian immigrant boys recite the 'Shema' during a bar mitzva ceremony yesterday for them and 500 girls celebrating their bat mitzva at the Western Wall.

Ginsburgh's detention overturned

Dorner yesterday overturned the administrative detention of Rabbi Yitzhak Ginsburgh, head of the Od Yosef Hai yeshiva in Nablus, saying he does not constitute a threat to the public.

Dorner said that nothing in the information presented to her could serve as a basis for holding Ginsburgh, Calling administrative detention a very serious step. Dorner said the government

should have used other legal remedies if it thought Ginsburgh

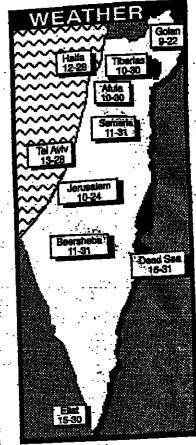
posed a threat. This was the first time that the court has overruled an administrative detention order because of insufficient grounds. In 1988, the court overturned an order on a technicality, saying that the term of the particular order -

yond what was lawful.

"I imagine that those in charge thought it over a number of times before detaining Ginsburgh, a known public figure," said Gins-burgh's lawyer, Naftali Wertzberger. "And if they still detained him, and the court ruled there was insufficient reason to do this, then it has to call into question the detention orders against those who the officials probably don't give as much thought to before locking up."

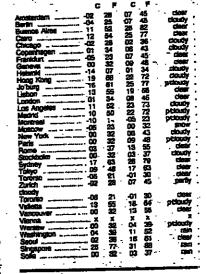
Ginsburgh was detained on March 7 for two months because he allegedly made extreme statements against Arabs after the recent suicide attacks in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Ashkelon.

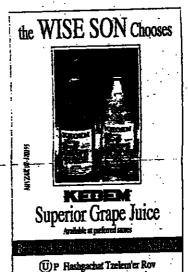
A Foreign Ministry statement circulated to Israeli consulates abroad explained the detention on March 12 by saying that Ginsburgh is a rabbinic authority with "a long record of incitement to violence, inflammatory rhetoric, and has developed a theology of revenge whose tenets he spreads wherever he can."



Forecast: Hot and dry. Shabbat: Parily cloudy, decline in

AROUND THE WORLD









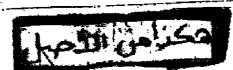


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